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DEVOTED TO THE ANTIQUITIES, GENEALOGY AND HISTORICAL MATTER
ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE

State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

*A record of measures and of men,
For twelve full score years and ten.*

JAMES N. ARNOLD, EDITOR.


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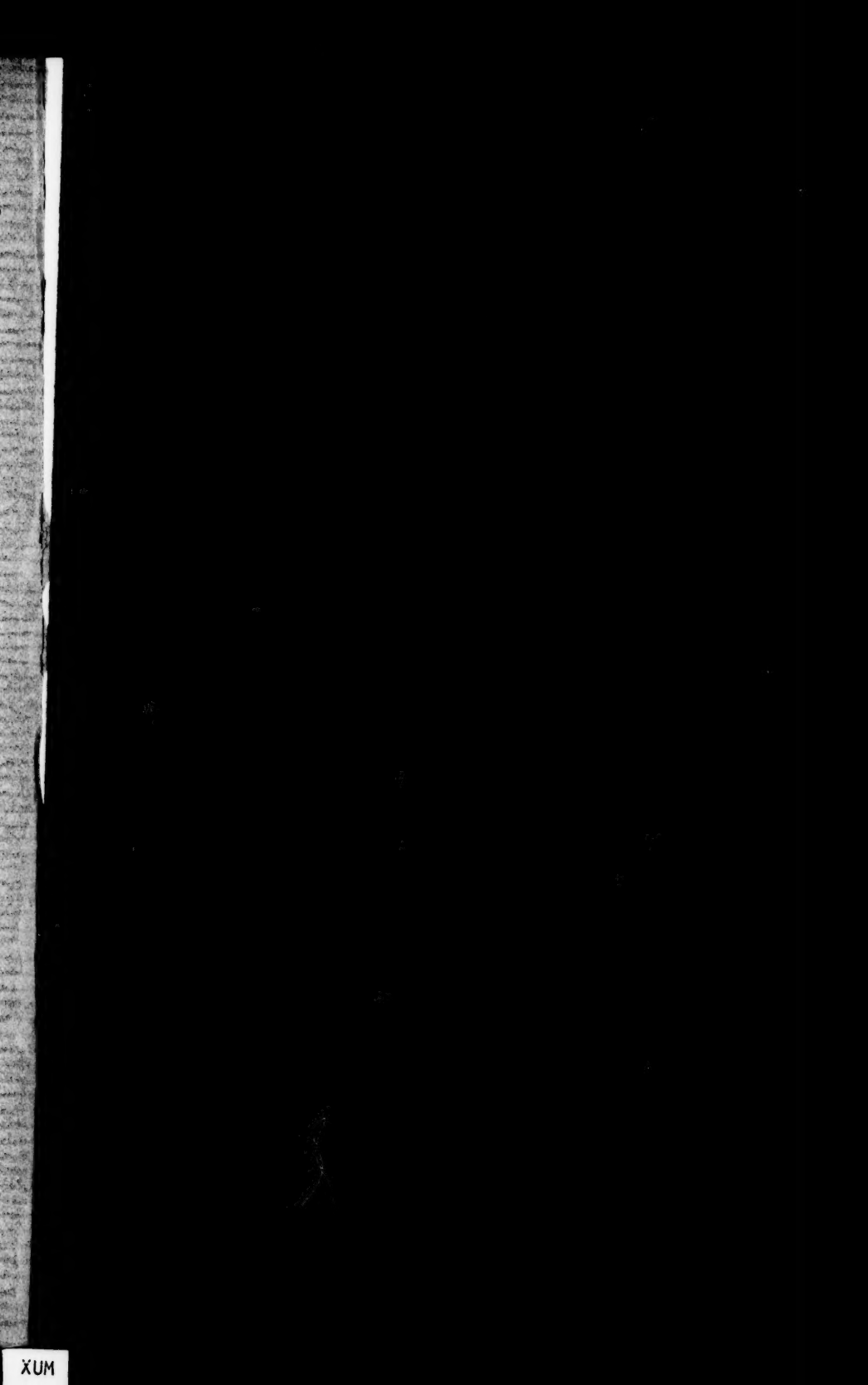
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HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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 N. B. The next number of the Register will be dated January, 1888; and will be issued as soon as our friends will allow us to get it ready, which will be in all probability early in March next. That our friends and patrons will now help us to make the Register a first class Periodical is the present earnest desire of the Editor.



THE
Narragansett Historical Register.

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VOL. V. PROVIDENCE, R. I., December, 1887. No. 4.

SAMUEL HUBBARD, OF NEWPORT,

1610---1689

By Ray Greene Huling A. M.,
New Bedford Mass.

THE Puritan," says Palfrey, " was a Scripturist, — a Scripturist with all his heart, if, as yet, with imperfect intelligence, He cherished the scheme of looking to the word of God as his sole and universal directory. . . . (He) searched the Bible not only for principles and rules, but for mandates, — and when he could find none of these for analogies, — to guide him in precise arrangements of public administration and in the minutest details of individual conduct He took the Scriptures as a homogeneous and rounded whole, and scarcely distinguished between the authority of Moses and the authority of Christ."

It is a man of precisely this stamp whose career is traced in the present paper, — a man lacking the learning of the schools,

yet earning the respect of all who knew him; a man of many limitations, but prompt in the use of his few talents whenever duty called. Born in the old world, he aided in the founding of three colonies in the new. His chief claim to recollection by posterity springs from the value of the manuscript journal and letter-book which he left, covering the period from 1641 to 1688, and giving interesting details about life in Newport,—especially about local church history. These Mss. were extant in 1830, but as early as 1852 had been lost. They were seen by Mr. Comer in 1726, and faithfully used by Dr. Backus in 1777, when writing his *History of the Baptists*. Probably all that was of general value in them has been given publication, but the more minute historical study of the present day would certainly find in them, if they should reappear, much of local and genealogical interest. The present writer has a copy of a note book into which Dr. Backus had transcribed much of the journal and a few of the several hundred letters which he saw, and from the reading of these arose his special interest in this “old beginner,” as he styles himself.

To give a bare outline of Samuel Hubbard’s life would be to offer a “lenten entertainment.” To read the letters of his contained in the note book of a hundred and fifty pages, would be more tedious than profitable. It has been chosen instead to journey with him from his home across the sea, to follow his pilgrimage from town to town, to look with his eyes upon surrounding scenes, and especially to note the steps by which he, like the other planters, wrested comfort and affluence from the savage waste that confronted him, and rose out of the fogs of religious strife and persecution to a purer atmosphere of enlightened liberty of conscience. A tale of this latter sort never lacks interest for a Rhode Island audience.

Does any one object to the prominence thus given to a man

in humble life, to whom public office almost never came, and whose lines of thought were not secular but religious? To him are commended these words of Drake's.*

"However humble may have been the condition of those who fled to New England in its primeval and savage state, to found a land for freedom of thought and action, their names will occupy a proud place in the History which is yet to be written.

And ungrateful must be that descendant of those founders who will not, in some way, aid to rescue their names from oblivion that they may be engraven upon the tablets of enduring annals."

Samuel Hubbard came of a stock most thoroughly Puritan. His father, James Hubbard, was a plain yeoman in the village of Mendelsham, a market town some eighty miles north-west of London in the county of Suffolk. Of his mother Naomi, her son gratefully writes:

"Such was the pleasure of Jehovah towards me, I was born of good parents; my mother brought me up in the fear of the Lord in Mendelsham, in catechising me and in hearing choice ministers."

Samuel was born in 1610, the youngest of seven children. Of his three sisters, one, Rachel, came to New England and reared a family in Connecticut. An older brother Benjamin, also came and was mentioned with the prefix of respect. He was made Clerk of the Writs in Charlestown, and bought lands in Rehoboth, but after a stay of ten years he returned to England and died there a respected country clergyman. A nephew of these, named James, was an early settler at Cambridge, where he left descendants. Thus the family was well represented in the new world.

**The Founders of New England, by Samuel Gardner Drake.*

His grandfathers had lived in perilous times and one of them, if not the other, had been a sufferer in the persecutions under Queen Mary. Thomas Hubbard, the father of James and the grandfather of Samuel, went to his death at the stake rather than recant his Protestantism. It was believed by his grandson that his fate was related in Fox's Book of Martyrs (Book iii, Chap xiv.) under the name of Thomas Higbed. If that belief be correct, as it probably is, the story in brief is as follows.

Thomas Hubbard was a gentleman residing at Hornden-on-the-Hill in Essex, "of good estate and great estimation in that county," and, withal, "zealous and religious in the true service of God." An informer discovered him to Edward Bonner, Bishop of London, who imprisoned him at Colchester and paid him the honor of a visit to convert him. Later he was removed to London, thrice examined at the consistory in St. Paul's, and remaining obdurate was sentenced by the Bishop, "before the Mayor and Sheriffs in the presence of all the people there assembled," to be burned for his heresy. A fortnight later he was "fast bound in a cart" —and brought to his "appointed place of torment," —the village in which he had lived. There on the 26th of May, 1555, he sealed his faith, says the narrator, shedding his "blood in the most cruel fire to the glory of God and great joy of the godly."

His maternal grandsire, though possessing similar convictions, was more fortunate; yet he too, was the object of suspicion and search. As late as 1682 Mr. Hubbard had in his Newport house a testament printed in 1549, which Thomas Coeke of Ipswich, (England), his mother's father, had brought safely through those fiery days by hiding it in his bed-straw. To a man of Mr. Hubbard's turn of mind this volume, with such a history, must have been a priceless treasure. In all probability the testament was a later edition of the translation from the

Greek by Tyndale made in the reign of Henry VIII, "which," says Welsh,* "revised by Coverdale, and edited in 1539 as Cromwell's Bible, and again, in 1540 as Cranmer's Bible, was set up in every English parish church by the very sovereign who had caused the translator to be strangled and burned". To this testament some special authority was attached, it appears, for it was consulted by parties at a considerable distance.†

These details about the ancestry of Samuel Hubbard have not been given without a reason. They tend to show why through all his life his character was so eminently devout. Born in a Puritan home in rural England, he received by inheritance the religious mark which persecution of parents always brands in vivid lettering upon children to the third and fourth generation. This tendency, moreover, was developed and strengthened with deliberate care by a fond mother, and when the growing lad came to years of understanding the very atmosphere about him was charged with theological controversy, not without a mingling of politics. At the age of ten or eleven, as he sat by the hearthside listening to the talk of goodman Hubbard with the neighbors who had dropped in for an evening's chat, he doubtless heard not only the oft told tales of grandsire Hubbard's burning at the stake at Hornden-on-the-Hill, and of grandsire Cocke's narrow escape in his Ipswich home, some fifteen miles away, but, as well, the marvellous account of God's dealings with Brethren Carver and Brewster and the rest. For, says the neighbor, these servants of the Lord have felt constrained to leave their recent home in the Low Countries and, taking their lives in their hands, have sought a new

* *Development of English Literature*, by Alfred H. Welsh.

† It is probable that this testament is now in the library of Alfred University at Alfred Centre, N. Y.

refuge among the savages in the wilderness named for the Virgin Queen, far over the sea to the westward. What wonder if the boy early formed a purpose to visit that wonderful region, when his day should come to make a career and fortune for himself?

Until his twenty-third year the young man remained at home in Mendelsham learning and practising, it is probable, the humble trade of a carpenter. By this time news had spread of the more recent settlement under Endicott at the Massachusetts Bay, and of the great company whom Winthrop had led to the shores of a beautiful harbor called Boston. These settlers, ran the story, have from the King a grant of their lands and full permission to govern themselves free from molestation by royal officers or heresy-hunting bishops. Here was a field inviting enough to the martyr's grand-son; and so he took ship for the new world.

In October 1633 he arrived at Salem, having come that month from England, whether directly by way of Boston or by some other route is uncertain.* His brother Benjamin was at Charlestown, and his sister Rachel Brandish with her family was at Salem, the same year. These facts made it probable that a family party of the Hubbards was made up for the voyage to the new world.

Salem was at this time a little community but five years old. It seems to have had less attraction for the young carpenter than the companionship of his friends, for in the very next

* *In the ship Truelore de London, which sailed from that port June 10, 1635 for Barbadoes, with numerous passengers, there appears the name "Samuell Hubbard" aged 16. This cannot be the subject of this sketch, who by his own statement was born in 1610 and came in 1633.*

year he followed his brother and sister Brandish to the younger settlement at Watertown. But before leaving Salem he formed one friendship destined to be to him a life-long source of satisfaction, and, doubtless, to determine in some measure his future career. As he wended his way from time to time to that unfinished building of one story which antedated even the "first meeting house," (now shown as such) at Salem, he often heard the fearless voice of Roger Williams, the energetic young preacher who had recently returned from Plymouth to be, first, the assistant, and, afterwards, the successor of Mr. Skelton; and, quite certainly, he shared in the general sympathy with the radical views proclaimed from that pulpit, which long prevailed in the Church at Salem. His after life proved that he drank in with a hearing ear the "dangerous opinion," " that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such case as did disturb the public peace," and esteemed Mr. Williams "an honest, disinterested man and of popular talents in the pulpit." Within a score of years both preacher and hearer were to experience similar changes of opinion on religious matters and upon compulsion were to flee to a similar refuge. And throughout their long lives the acquaintance here formed was preserved and strengthened by correspondence.

Have you ever wondered what the order of exercises was at a meeting in these early days? Gov. Winthrop* describes the proceedings on one such occasion, when he with Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, was spending a sabbath at Plymouth, in October 1632.

" On the Lord's day there was a sacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (accord-

* *Winthrop's Journal.*

ing to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after, the Governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned."

To Watertown, as has been said, in 1634 the young carpenter turned his steps. And here he seems to have intended to make his permanent home, for in the following year he joined the church, as he says, "by giving an account of my faith." This was not, however, the beginning of his conscious experience of religious emotions. That dated back to the days when he sat by his mothers side upon the sabbath day within the room made sacred by the voices of those "choice ministers." Here is his own account of his conversion.

"I was brought by the good hand of my Heavenly Father to see myself a lost one by Mr. Salle of Nettlestead from Daniel fifth Mene etc. Doctrine, That all must be numbered.

Which wrought effectually on me to try myself, being in sore troubles of mind, but borne up by many scriptures, Ex. xv: 2, Matt. xviii: Rev. xiv: 1, -by these and many more I closing therewith, I was much comforted and did believe that that there was no help but only in the Lord Jesus Christ for life and salvation, and hope to stay myself upon my God thro' Ct. Jesus accord'g, to that scripture Isia. l: 10."

It will be noticed how careful he is in every phase of his feeling to square his position by detailed reference to a biblical phrase. We can easily imagine him in the same strain

"giving an account of his faith" before the brethren in Watertown.

Samuel Hubbard had scarcely become established in his second New England home before he found himself in the midst of a social agitation of considerable magnitude. Though the settlers had been but five years on the ground, a movement for removal was in full force. The main reason for this state of things is yet a matter of doubt. Why, so soon after the opening of the country, while the whole region was but sparsely populated, a feverish haste to enter the little known district along the Connecticut should have possessed the people of Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury and Newtown, (the present Cambridge) is not altogether clear. Like most popular movements, this appears to have sprung from a variety of causes and to have gained strength because of opposition on the part of the ruling element in the colony. There were two grounds of dissatisfaction quite general that may have added permanence to the agitation. The first was the growing tendency of the rulers to mingle civil and religious matters; the second was the fear of attacks from England upon the exposed coast settlements, for sentiments hostile to the welfare of the colony were known to be cherished at court.

The first of Winthrop's company to be set on shore had in 1630 planted themselves on Dorchester neck. The very next year there came to Plymouth and to Boston a Connecticut river sache, Wahquiniacut, earnestly soliciting settlements along that river and offering as a bounty a full supply of corn and eighty beaver skins annually. His motive, of course, was to secure an alliance with the well-armed Whites against the merciless Pequots, who then were driving the river tribes from their homes. The Plymouth people were ready to unite with those of the Bay in seizing the opportunity, but the gov-

ernment of the stronger colony declined to entertain the proposition. John Oldham, however, the trader afterwards killed by Indians at Block Island, with a few bold spirits from Dorchester traversed the wilderness and brought back such reports of the fertility of the lands along the river as caused the farmers of Mattapan to glance askance at their rocky lots and think strongly of bettering their condition. Nor were the neighboring settlers without similar information and similar longings.

Meanwhile the Dutch had built in June, 1633, their little fort at the House of Good Hope, now Hartford. Past this in the following October had sailed a Plymouth vessel, carrying the frame of a house subsequently erected at Windsor. An English settlement was now begun, and accounts of the attractiveness of the region multiplied. The fur traders rejoiced to find a fresh field to gather peltry. A few, like Ludlow, dissatisfied with the political situation at the Bay, were not unwilling to lead a company to a settlement beyond the immediate influence of the present rulers, where their own ambition might have more gratifying sweep. In Roxbury the influence of Pynchon was thrown heartily toward the scheme. In Watertown there was ill concealed opposition to the Court of Assistants, growing out of a recent refusal of the town to pay a tax levied on all the towns to fortify a single one, Newtown. Only the wisdom of Winthrop had averted a serious collision and quieted the jealousy of illegal taxation. The pastor who had led his flock in the protest of 1632 was again their leader in the project of emigration. At Newtown the purpose to remove had been vigorous and definite from the outset. In May 1634 the Newtown people applied to the General Court for permission "to look out either for enlargement or removal," and the request not being fully understood

was agreed to. In the following September the purpose was avowed, "to remove to Connecticut." At once great opposition was developed and steps were taken which resulted in an apparent abandonment of the plan. The chief lay mover in the matter, John Haynes, was even elected Governor. But the next spring renewed the agitation and saw permission obtained. Straggling parties from Watertown had already gone to Wethersfield and in the fall of 1635 a party of sixty from Dorchester, including women and children, wearily plodded through the woods, driving their cattle with them, and tried to spend the winter at Windsor, but most of them suffered miserably till one way or another they struggled back to Massachusetts Bay. Nothing disheartened, in June 1636 the Newtown church, led by Hooker and Stone their pastor and assistant, sold out to a company of newly arrived settlers their immovable property, and started upon their westward journey. A hundred in number, of all ages and both sexes, with their lowing herds before them, they slowly covered the hundred miles and founded Hartford. In the same summer the church of Dorchester reoccupied the site at Windsor and the Watertown church enlarged the little company at Wethersfield.

In this emigration the young carpenter from Mendelsham was swept along, but curiously enough he appears first, not among the Watertown people at Wethersfield, but at Windsor. How was this? There is no trouble in explaining the fact if we remember that Hubbard was then not quite twenty-five, and that the Windsor emigration included persons of both sexes. It was a fair member of the Dorchester church, we see, that had led the young man to this region.

"Tase Cooper" came to Dorchester June 9, 1634 and united with the church there seven weeks later. Both she and Samuel Hubbard went to Windsor in the following year,

probably in that ill-starred company of sixty who spent their autumn upon the journey and found the river frozen on their arrival. They appear to have been among the number who clung to the infant settlement, for on Jan. 4, 1636 (probably 1636-7) they were married at Windsor by Mr. Ludlow.

Of the parentage of Tase Cooper, I have been able to find no trace. She had a brother John who lived in London in 1677 and in 1680, and also a brother Robert who writes from Yarmouth in 1644, highly praising New England as a place of residence. There were others of the same family name on the Connecticut River at this period, but none from Dorchester and none with whom she can be connected. From whatever source she came, she proved a noble woman and a faithful wife. Through the long years of their life together she constantly appears as a worthy help-meet, courageous, resolute and ready, frequently a little in advance of her husband in the settlement of any question of religion, her woman's intuition marking out more rapidly the path which his logical reasoning finally compelled him to traverse. As to her name in full, we can only conjecture. Mr. Hubbard appears to have written it "Tase" without exception; later writers have agreed upon "Tacy". Was it an abbreviation of Anastasia?

The newly married pair soon fixed their residence at Wethersfield, probably led thither by the fact that the bridegroom's sister Rachel with her husband John Brandish and five children had come from Watertown to settle there. They found the little colony in feeble straits. In all three of the towns there were about eight hundred souls including two hundred adult men. Between the Hudson on the west and Narragansett Bay on the east dwelt Indian tribes that if united, could have brought upon them four or five thousand warriors. The fiercest of these savages the Pequots, who

had not fewer than a thousand fighting men, were already in hostility. Wethersfield itself had been attacked in the winter of 1636-7 with a loss of nine by death and two by capture. Then in sheer self-defence the little company determined to administer to their merciless foes a lesson not to be forgotten. Though not far from starvation themselves, they equipped and victualed ninety men from the three towns, more than a third of their whole number, and sent them upon the expedition under Capt. Mason which obliterated the Pequot nation and gave the land rest for forty years. Their first summer had been occupied in breaking roads and building habitations. If in that autumn of 1635 there were, as Winthrop says, only thirty ploughs in Massachusetts, there could have been but half a dozen in Connecticut. In the following winter their cattle suffered greatly from food and shelter, and provisions bore an enormous price; hunting and fishing, moreover, were exceedingly dangerous since the savages were ever hanging about the neighborhood. Thus stood matters when this pair began their married life. During the campaign, successful as it proved, evils were accumulating. There were few men to raise provisions. Wrote Ludlow at Windsor to Pynchon at Springfield, May 17, 1637.

"Our plantations are so gleaned by that small fleet we sent out, that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are scarce able to stand upon their legs. And for planting, we are in like condition with you. What we plaint is before our doors; little anywhere else."

Meanwhile a debt was incurred for war expenses leading to an onerous tax, and at the same time the towns must keep themselves supplied with military stores and each settler must see to his arms and ammunition. Such were the conditions of

life, both at Windsor and at Wethersfield, when the Hubbards began their house-keeping.

The church at Wethersfield at this time had no settled pastor, and had got into contentions and animosities which extended to the inhabitants not church members. In consequence there was already considerable disposition toward another removal. The church seems to have had but seven members and these were divided three against four, the ratio perhaps indicating the relative strength of the factions in the community. The three included the officers, who, claiming to be the church, insisted on the right of remaining, and urged that the others should depart in the interest of peace. The four claimed that numbering a majority they had the right to stay and constitute the church. With the small company who did conclude to remove went Samuel and Tase Hubbard, and their little one of six months, whom they were soon to lay away under the sod of their new home.

Northward went the little band to the beautiful site upon which the Roxbury settlers had planted their recent settlement. Everything here, as on the river banks below, was still new on that Mayday in 1639 when the Wethersfield party arrived. It was yet a time of beginnings at Springfield.

The records extant give little trace of the years spent by Mr. Hubbard here. We know that soon a little church was gathered containing four men besides himself, and that not long after his wife was added to the number. Here were born to them those three girls, Ruth, Rachel, and Bethiah, who were to become the ancestors of all the Burdicks and Langworthys, and many of the Clarkes, of Rhode Island. Here, too, was given to them, and quickly snatched away, a son. Full of daily cares, of struggles and deprivations must these days have been, but this couple were not given to complaining. In due time the wilderness was to blossom as the rose.

Mr. Hubbard's stay at Springfield covered eight years. In the interval, the sister Rachel whom he had followed from Salem to Watertown and thence to Wethersfield, had lost her husband by death, and having re-married was living in the latest settlement of all, Fairfield. Here on the shore of Long Island Sound, Roger Ludlow had, in 1642, with a few families from Wethersfield planted the outpost of the English colonies on the side of the Dutch. From some cause on the 10th of May, 1647, the Hubbards with their little family and all their belongings departed from Springfield, doubtless by the river, and floated down to begin the founding of still another home,—in Fairfield. What the cause was is not stated in his journal. Perhaps we may divine it a little later. Once arrived at the young settlement, and well settled in the new home, he finds himself confronted with a difficulty discouraging enough, from which he wisely flees, since it is insurmountable.

He shall tell the story in his own plain way.

“God having enlightened both, but mostly my wife into his holy ordinance of baptizing only of visible believers, and (she) being very zealous for it, she was mostly struck at and answered two times publickly; where I was also said to be as bad as she and sore threatened with imprisonment to Hartford jail, if not to renounce it or to remove; that scripture came into our minds, if they persecute you in one place flee to another. And so we did 2 day October, 1648. We went for Rhode Island and arrived there the 12 day. I and my wife upon our manifestation of our faith were baptized by brother Johu Clarke 3 day of November 1648.”

From this account, taken in connection with a statement of his made before a court at New London in 1675, we may infer, I think, that Mr. Hubbard and his wife had for some time

before the autumn of 1648, been of the Baptist way of thinking. The statement at New London was made in answer to Mr. Bradstreet,—the minister of that place, who in urging the conviction of certain parties on religious grounds had much to say about “the good way that their fathers had set up.” To this, Mr. Hubbard obtaining leave to speak replied.

“You are a young man, but I am an old planter of about forty years, a beginner of Connecticut, and have been persecuted for my conscience from this colony, and I can assure you the old beginners were not for persecution, but we had liberty at first.”

In a letter to Gov. Leete, in the year 1682, he reiterated the thought.

“Sir, it seemeth strange to me, an old planter of your colony, one of the first, before Mr. Hooker came there, and then what sweet love, precious love was then; but not long so stood after the Bay persecuted Mr. Williams and others. But they set into that evil way by degrees, I can witness by my own experience; for I was forced to remove for my conscience sake for God’s truth. Alas: some of them yt did fly to N. E. now, as the apostle Paul said of himself, was exceeding mad and persecuted their brethren and that with you also.”

The natural inference from all this is that the Hubbards had held their variant views about baptism while they were still among the “old beginners,” i. e. during their residence at Springfield, and perhaps before they left Wethersfield, but at the first were unmolested by the Connecticut settlers.

Now let us see what had happened during the residence of Mr. Hubbard at Springfield. The agitation for an alliance between the New England colonies, begun by the Connecticut settlers through fear of the Dutch, and strengthened by

the political commotion of the mother country, had been prolonged for some five years. Massachusetts and Connecticut both claimed the settlements at Springfield and Westfield, and until that question could be practically agreed upon the union was delayed. In 1643, the confederacy was definitely established and at a meeting of the Commissioners in 1644 the claim of Massachusetts to the above named towns was sustained. As late, however, as 1649, at a meeting of the Commissioners, the representatives of Connecticut refused to regard the line as settled and claimed authority over Springfield. This goes to show that between 1644 and 1647, the later years of Hubbard's stay in that town, there was an unsettled state of feeling as to which colony had jurisdiction by right, although Massachusetts was asserting jurisdiction in fact, with a probability of ultimate success.

Meanwhile the policy which had driven Roger Williams to Providence, and the followers of Ann Hutchinson to various places of refuge, was not intermitted. Deviations from the Puritan creed were challenged with vigor, and Anabaptists in particular were not left without notice. On Nov. 13, 1644, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act providing banishment as the penalty for "condemning the baptizing of infants" or propagating such views. Nor was the law a dead letter. The historian William Hubbard tells of a man at Hingham named Thomas Painter, who was tied up and whipped by order of Court the same year, because "having a child born he would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized." In 1645 a petition for the repeal of this law was denied by the General Court, and again on May 6, 1646 a petition for the continuance of laws in force against Anabaptists was recorded as granted. About the same month

William Witter of Lynn was troubled with prosecutions for this cause. Now on the supposition that Samuel and Tase Hubbard had embraced Baptist sentiments, in view of the fact that Springfield was held to be within the sweep of the law above referred to, is it not probable that they determined to go into voluntary banishment before force should be applied?

There was evidently in their minds little thought that the "precious love" which was "at the first" among the "old beginners" in Connecticut had already begun to fail. But a year and a half was enough to teach them in what quarter alone those who differed from their friends for conscience's sake could find an unfailling refuge.

When in the autumn of 1648 Samuel Hubbard came to Rhode Island to secure the permanent home denied one of his belief in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the colony was entering upon the solving of what Prof. Greene,* calls the fundamental problem of Rhode Island history—the reconciliation of liberty and law. The experience of a dozen years in local government "had demonstrated the possibility of soul liberty," and had given it "a hold upon the hearts of the people too strong to be shaken." They were now to determine whether it left "the needed strength in the civil organization to bear a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part, of the free inhabitants." The charter obtained by Roger Williams had, after a long delay, been accepted by the freemen of the four towns, and a code of laws conformable thereto had been adopted. "The character of the whole code was just and benevolent, breathing a gentle spirit

* *A Short History of Rhode Island*, by George Washington Greene, L L. D.

of practical Christianity and a calm consciousness of high destinies." It closes thus:—

"These are the lawes that concerne all men, and these are the Penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are Ratified and Established throughout this whole Colonie; and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences perswade them, every one in the name of his God. And lett the Saints of the Most High walk in this Colony, without Molestation, in the name of Jehovah, their God, for Ever and Ever." *

Mr. Hubbard, as we have seen, immediately upon his arrival at Newport became identified with the little Baptist church under the pastorate of John Clarke, then four years old and yet having but fifteen members, of whom nine were males.

This was to be his church home for twenty-three years.

Whether he became their deacon or clerk, as has been deemed likely but without direct evidence, is not certain; but there is no doubt that nearly all that is known of the early history of that church was preserved by his pen. To him Mr. Comer refers and all who have since treated the subject. He became the messenger of the church on numerous occasions, and sometimes not without considerable personal risk.

One such visit, made by him on the third summer of his residence on the Island, was in connection with the now famous imprisonment of three Baptists at Boston in 1651.

At Swampscott, then a part of Lynn, there lived in feebleness and blindness William Witter a member of Dr. Clarke's church who had twice been prosecuted for expressing in strong language his views on infant baptism. In his loneliness he requested a visit from the brethren of the church. Mr. Clarke,

* *R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. I.*

himself, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall were deputed by the church to carry their sympathy to this aged member. They arrived at his house on a Saturday evening July 19th. The next morning they had begun to worship the Lord in their own way, in the presence of four or five strangers, and Mr. Clarke was in the midst of a sermon, when the assembly was broken up and the three from Newport were hurried off to the jail. In the afternoon, against their remonstrance, they were conducted to the meeting house of the town, where Mr. Clarke gave sore offence by declining to join in the service, and though he offered an explanation of his apparently discourteous conduct, he was silenced and all three were returned to the jail. On Tuesday they were taken to Boston.

Nine days later, on the 31st, they had their trial,—“of a kind” says Brooks Adams, * “reserved by priests for heretics.”

No jury was impanelled, no indictment was read, no evidence was heard, but the prisoners were reviled by the court as Anabaptists, and when they repudiated the name were asked if they did not deny infant baptism. The argument that followed was cut short by a commitment to await sentence. That afternoon John Cotton exhorted the judges, telling them that the rejection of infant baptism would overthrow the church; that this was a capital crime, and therefore the captives were “foul murderers.” Toward evening the court came in and sentenced them to fines of twenty, thirty and five pounds. Governor Endicott lost his temper, “declared they deserved death and he would have no such trash brought into his jurisdiction,” and insinuating that they had influence over weak-minded persons only, dared them to a

* *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*, by Brooks Adams.

discussion with the ministers. This challenge Mr. Clarke promptly accepted, and he earnestly endeavored to bring about the proposed discussion. The magistrates at first seemed to consent, but after some delay denied that the Governor's meaning had been rightly understood. The prisoners were remanded to jail, where they all remained at least a fortnight and perhaps longer. In the interval, they received a loving visit from the representative expressly sent by the church at Newport, Samuel Hubbard, in whose journal is recorded this item:

"I was sent by the church to visit the bretherin who was imprisoned in Boston jayl for witnessing the truth of baptizing believers only, viz, Brother John Clarke, Bro. Obadiah Holmes & Bro. John Crandall, 7 day August, 1651."

The fine of Mr. Clarke was paid, against his will, by friends who feared for his safety. Crandall was admitted to bail, but misinformed as to the time of surrender returned to find that his jailer had paid the bond and he was free. Holmes, however, was left to face his punishment, which was severe. Thirty lashes with a three-thonged whip left him cruelly lacerated in body, but dignified and angelic in spirit. Among those who showed Holmes sympathy on this day, was one John Hazel of Rehoboth, a cousin of Samuel Hubbard's, who had come to Boston to visit the prisoner. He was himself thrown into prison for no offence, but the aid and comfort given to Holmes, and survived but a short time the treatment there received. Mr. Hubbard's letter book had a number of letters that had passed between Hazel and himself.

Under date of October, 1652, Mr. Hubbard records this: "I and my wife had hands laid on us by brother Joseph Tory." This has some interest as showing that the doctrine

of "laying on of hands" was even then attracting some attention in the Newport church. It was four years later, during Mr. Clarke's long absence in England, that some twenty-one members broke away, chiefly, it is supposed, because the old church held "the laying on of hands a matter of indifference." Samuel Hubbard, however, remained with the older church.

The year 1655 finds him numbered among the freemen of the colony. The date of his admission was undoubtedly earlier.

In the autumn of 1657, Mr. Hubbard and his friend Obadiah Holmes went to the Dutch at Gravesend and to Jamaica at Flushing and to Hampstead and Cow Bay, being gone from Oct. 1st, to Nov. 15th. This I suppose to have been a preaching tour, though, doubtless, Mr. Hubbard was the guest of his nephew, John Brandish, a resident there.

The next allusion to him is somewhat surprising. He appears to have been a small farmer, pursuing also the trade of a carpenter. Yet in the colonial record there is found under date of "May the fowerth, 1664," in the list of colonial officers chosen, the following:

"Larrance Torner, Solicitor; Samuel Hubbard, next."

The office of "General Solicitor" was created by the General Assembly in 1650 and the duties are described as follows:

"It is ordered, that the Solicitor shall prepare all such complaintes (upon which the "Generall Atturney" was to proceed) to the Atturney's hand, not hindering any authority of the Atturnie by oration presented in the Solicitor's absence if he please."

What this means the writer does not pretend to know, save that complaints were to be made out by the Solicitor. This service seems to demand more legal knowledge than Mr. Hubbard's letters show evidence of his possessing. His elec-

tion probably implies that he was known to be an easy writer and was held in high esteem for his good sense. Whether he ever served as General Solicitor is uncertain. Larrance Torner, upon his own petition, was discharged from his office without having served, on the following day. There is no record of Samuel Hubbard's engagement or of any action about the matter until the general election of the following year, when William Dyre was chosen to the office and engaged.

In the beginning of 1665,* or possibly in the previous year,† there had come from London to Newport, Mr. Stephen Mumford. Through his teachings, in March 1665, Tase Hubbard was convinced of her obligation to observe the seventh day, instead of the first, as the weekly sabbath. The next month her husband was also convinced, and a little later four more of their household and some others joined with them in the observance of Saturday. Not even then did these worshippers break off their connection with Mr. Clarke's church, but for six years longer they were members of that body, and some of them were prominent representatives of the Church upon important occasions.

One of these occasions occurred at Boston in 1668, on this wise.

Certain members of the Charlestown Church of the standing order had come to have grave doubts about infant baptism. Thomas Gould, in particular, for "denying baptism to his (infant) child" was convicted, admonished and given till next term to consider his error; this in October, 1656.

From this time for several years he was subjected to per-

* *Backus' History of the Baptists.*

† *Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, page 150.

petual annoyance, being repeatedly summoned and admonished by both church and the courts, till in 1665 he withdrew, and with eight others formed a separate church. Thereupon they were excommunicated by the church at Charlestown, and given over to the Magistrates to be crushed. "Passing from one tribunal to another," says Mr. Adams, "the sectaries came before the General Court in October 1665; such as were free-men were disfranchised, and all were sentenced, upon conviction before a single Magistrate of continued schism, to be imprisoned until further order. The following April they were fined four pounds and put in confinement; where they lay till the 11th of September, when the legislature, after a hearing, ordered them to be discharged upon payment of fines and costs."

Persecution, however, aroused sympathy for these men and increased their numbers. So their opponents ordered Gould and his friends, with such others as might be named by the latter, to appear at the meeting house in Boston on the 14th of April. To meet these farmers and mechanics in the disputation, six eminent clergymen were deputed.

The question as stated for discussion was:

"Whether it be justifiable by the word of God for these persons and their company to depart from the communion of these churches, and to set up an assembly here in the way of anabaptistery, and whether such practice is allowable by the government of this jurisdiction."

The church at Newport, hearing of this appointment, sent William Hiscox, Joseph Torrey, and Samuel Hubbard to the assistance of the brethren. The latter speaks of going to Boston on April 7th. It is stated that he kept a record of the proceedings.

Two accounts of this meeting are extant. One, by Cotton Mather, states that while the erring brethren were obstinate, "others were happily established in the right ways of the Lord." Another, a document written by the wife of one of the parties, probably Mrs. Gould, says:

"When they were met, there was a long speech made by one of them, of what vile persons they were and how they acted against the churches and government here, and stood condemned by the court. The others desiring liberty to speak, they would not suffer them, but told them, they stood there as delinquents and ought not to have liberty to speak. Two days were spent to little purpose."

It is probable that Mr. Hubbard and his colleagues were able to do little more than to show their sympathy for their troubled friends. On the 27th of May following, Gould, Turner and Farnum were banished under pain of perpetual imprisonment. But they remained and faced their fate. On July 30th, they were committed to prison and kept there a year or more, and then released. Turner was again imprisoned in 1670, and Russell, one of the number, is said to have died in the jail. Eventually the church, which had now removed to Noddle's Island (East Boston), had peace in the enjoyment of their religion. Poor Turner, as Captain, led a company, composed chiefly of " Anabaptist " volunteers, against the Indians in Philip's war and after valiant service in the Connecticut valley, lost his life at the Deerfield falls.

Mr. Hubbard appears to have lingered in Boston for more than a month after the disputation, for we find a letter from him dated Boston, July 6th, 1668, and directed to his cousin John Smith of London, in which there is an interesting personal allusion, as well as some account of the meeting in April.

"Cousin, I this spring having been at Boston upon account of a dispute made shew of, the Governor and Magistrates with and against some of God's ways and ours; who was brought forth to bear testimony for his truth. After several threatenings and imprisonment of some (and whipping of Quakers) as I said, made shew of a dispute to convince them.

I was at it, but not joining of them; only their wills was satesfied to proceed against them, that they might not meet public again. If they did, any one magistrate might imprison them, and let 'em out 10 days before the middle of July, in which 10 days they are to be gone out of their colony. Three of the chief of them are to be put in three several prisons.

This was the main of my business and also to see my kindred in the flesh, where I was at my cousin Hannah Brooks's; for so is her name, where I saw a book of your making I never heard of before, which yo gave to my cousin Elizabeth Hubbard; I was much refreshed with it.

I hint how it is with me and mine. Thro' God's great mercy the Lord have given me in this wilderness a good, diligent, careful, painful and very loving wife. We thro' mercy live comfortably, praised be God, as coheirs together of one mind in the Lord, travelling thro' this wilderness to our heavenly Zion, knowing we are pilgrims, as our fathers were, and good portion, being content therewith. A good house, as with us judged, and twenty-five acres of ground fenced in, and four cows which give milk, one young heifer, and three calves, and a very good mare; a trade, a carpenter, and health to follow it, and my wife very dilligent and painful; praised be God. This is my joy and crown. I trust all, both sons-in-law and daughters are in visible order in general;

but in especial manner my son Clarke and my three daughters with my wife and about fourteen walk in the observation of God's holy sanctified seventh day sabbath, with much comfort and liberty, for so we and all ever had and yet have in this colony.

The good Lord give me, poor one, and all, hearts to be faithful and dilligent in the improvement, for his glory, our souls' good and edifying and building up one another in our most holy faith; that while the earth is in flames, in tumults, the potsherds breaking together, we may be awake trimming our lamps. and not to have oil to buy, but be ready to enter with our Lord.

I desire to hear how things [are] with you in your land; for this thirty years and more I have observed (as one said) as the weathercock turns with you, soon after with them in the Massachusetts Bay.

I commit yo all to the God of wisdom to guide you, and to make you willing to do his will, amen.

Samuel Hubbard."

The good house of which he writes was in a locality called by him " Mayford," but more frequently styled by others "Maidford." It lies north of the pond in Middletown and not far from Easton's beach. It was here that Obadiah Holmes also had a tract of land.

Mr. Hubbard's three daughters were now happily married, and the oldest and the youngest with their husbands had gone to join the new settlement at Misquamicut, now Westerly. There was a son at home, bearing his father's name, just coming to manhood but destined to an early death. Back there in Wethersfield was one little grave, and in Springfield were two more, testifying to the hardships and sorrows of

earlier years. But the present days were indeed full of "much comfort and liberty."

The views of Mr. Hubbard and others of Mr. Clarke's church about the sabbath were a matter of frequent conversation and correspondence at this time. Finally the difference between the two parties in the church came to an open rupture. Four keepers of the seventh day went back to the keeping of the first day, so offending Mr. Hubbard and his friends that they withdrew from communion with deserters.

Thereupon a meeting of the church was called and the wounded feelings were so far soothed that church relations remained unchanged for several months. Ultimately, however, the preaching of Mr. Clarke, and especially of Mr. Holmes, became so directed against these views about the sabbath, that earnest replies were evoked, and it became evident, after one especially vigorous discussion, that peace could be reached only by separation. The account of this discussion, prepared by Mr. Comer largely from Mr. Hubbard's papers, it is thought, is highly interesting but too long to be introduced here. Shortly afterward, on the 23d. of December, 1671, five persons withdrew from Mr. Clarke's church and, with two others, formed the first Seventh Day Baptist Church in America. Their names: are William Hiscox, who ultimately became pastor, Stephen Mumford and his wife, Samuel and Tase Hubbard, their daughter, Rachel Langworthy, and Roger Baster.

The church which they established had a long and useful career, and embraced among its members many of the best men of the colony. Its former house of worship is now the building occupied by the Newport Historical Society.

Many of the earliest settlers at Westerly were connected by some tie to this church, and subsequently a church of the

same faith was formed there, which still exists, in the town of Hopkinton. In this latter church the children and grandchildren of Mr. Hubbard were very prominent workers. From it their descendants have carried his faith to the Middle and Western States where it thrives more vigorously than in its earliest American home. The latest statistics of the Seventh Day Baptists assign to them 105 churches and 8757 members.

These years were beginning to add to the sorrows of life for Samuel and Tase Hubbard. On the 20th of January 1670-1, they saw their only son sink into death. Then in the course of the ensuing year, came the dissensions in the church which severed friendships of long standing. Across the bay in Westerly their two sons-in-law, Robert Burdick and Joseph Clarke, the younger, were settled upon the disputed tract claimed by both Massachusetts and Connecticut, as well as by Rhode Island, under which latter jurisdiction they held their titles. Burdick had already been arrested on his homestead and imprisoned at Boston by reason of adherence to his colony, and Clarke was in a few years to be imprisoned in Hartford jail for a similar reason. A letter of Mr. Hubbard's on Oct. 6, 1672, expresses a more depressed feeling than is observable at any other period of his life. He says:

"Dear breth. pray for us, a poor weak band in a wilderness, beset around with opposites, from the comm. adversary and from quakers, generals, and prophane persons, and most of all from such as have been our familiar acquaintance; but our battles are only in words; praised be God."

In the following February (14th.) he says "Many slanders is laid upon Mr. John Clarke; but I will be sparing."

Whether the allusion is to the church troubles or to something of a political nature, the kindness of the writer's heart

towards one from whom he had been obliged to separate on religious grounds is very marked, and quite unlike the temper of the times.

How his Westerly children were faring is shown by a letter from Ruth Burdick in 1673 (Dec. 7) :

"We are at peace at present, but are in expectation of the officers to come to strain for the ministers wages, weh for our share is 8 s; we hear also of a press for soldier's to go against the Dutch. We fear much whose turn it may be. The Lord help us to cast all our care upon him."

In the year 1674 a movement began which resulted in the formation of the sect of the Rogerenes. In the earlier stages of this movement Mr. Hubbard had a share, but no one was more disturbed by the final result than himself.

Toward the close of this year John and James Rogers of New London were baptized. In the following spring, another brother, Jonathan Rogers, was also baptized and all were added to the Seventh Day church at Newport by a deputation of which Mr. Hubbard was one. Thereupon John Rogers' father-in-law took his wife and children away from him and caused his arrest and commitment to Hartford jail. He was at liberty, however, in the following autumn, and went with others to bring Mr. Hubbard to New London again. At this time the father, James Rogers, with his wife and daughter, was also baptized. Then began further imprisonment of the family for working on Sunday. Still another baptism in November led to continued imprisonment. So matters ran on. Meanwhile one of these sons, named Jonathan, had married a grand-daughter of Mr. Hubbard, Naomi Burdick, and had been excommunicated by the rest of the Rogers family, for not accepting some of their constantly growing vaga-

ries. After many visits to the New London brethren, the Newport church in 1685 "cut them off," excepting Jonathan. The enthusiasts went on to establish themselves independently having, says Mr. Hubbard "declined to Quakerism." They clung to the seventh day, to baptism, and to the communion, but refused to use medicine, denounced hirling preachers and delighted in offensive work upon the sabbath, whereby they had many imprisonments and a few whippings. The sect was kept alive, it would seem, only by persecution, for since that declined it has ceased to exist.

Mr. Hubbard's book contained numerous letters describing the growth of the movement and is the chief source of information about its origin.

The war with Philip, in the year 1675, temporarily broke up the Westerly settlement, so full of interest for Mr. Hubbard, and sent its members to Newport for safety. In November he writes:

"Very sudden and strange changes these times afford in this our age, everywhere, as I hear and now see, in N. E. Gods' hand seems to be streached out against N. England by wars by the natives, and many Englishmen fall at present. But the English is just now going out against them to purpose, as it's reported from the Massachusetts Bay, alias Boston, a 1000 men. The Lord of hosts be with them. This island doth look to ourselves, as yet, by mercy not one slain, blessed be God. . . . My wife, and three daughters, who are all here by reason of the Indian war, with their 15 children, desire to remember their christian love to you."

After the war he writes, "My rates for the wars was but 10 shillings or 10, lbs. of wool."

On the coming of peace, the daughters returned to their

Westerly homes, whither Mr. Hubbard often went to visit them, and to rejoice in their growing prosperity, as well as sometimes to lament with them over their troubles from Connecticut inroads.

The summer and autumn of 1677 brought to Mr. Hubbard two peculiar experiences. The first was a wound to his feelings in a very tender spot, a vote of the church declaring that he had not "the gift of prophesying publicly in the church, tho'" says he, "heretofore judged so by those breth'n of the old ch. yea, by most here and encouraged in it." It is plain that a generation had arisen "that knew not Joseph." I apprehend that the occasion was an attempt to have a pastor regularly ordained. Mr. Hiscox was not ordained as late as 1684, and in speaking of a mission to New London in Feb. 1679-80, Mr. Hubbard said "I must say that Bro. Maxson and I had by virtue of church as much power as Bro. Hiscox." Possibly the members of this church at Newport, like the disciples at Corinth, were instituting invidious comparisons between their Paul and their Apollos.

At nearly the same time he was greatly prostrated by "a very sore cough," by reason of which his life was despaired of. From his old friend, Major John Cranston, the Deputy Governor, he received a small vial of spirits which allowed him some sleep but failed to relieve him. Let him tell the rest. "The church meeting by course, the church coming in to see me, I desired of them the ordinance of laying of hand and anointing with oil, saying I had faith in it. Bro. Hiscox and Bro. Gibson gave me this answe'r—for some reasons they could not for present, but wt they could do were very willing & free. So the ch drew into my other room agreeing to seek God's face for me, poor one. The next day

I would have gone to town to give public praise, but was advised not to go," and friends who came expecting to find him dead, beheld him standing and writing.

One of his most regular correspondents in these days was John Thornton of Providence, a member with him of the Newport church, but more recently removed to the northern town. Shortly after his arrival there Mr. Hubbard in a letter to him dated Feb. 9, 1678-9, said.

"Pray remember my respect unto Mr. Roger Williams. I thought to have wrote to him but I have not time now; have me excused to him. I do truly sympathize with him in his great exercise; the good Lord sanctify it to him and to his wife and all his for their soul's advantage."

Again the following November I note a similar remembrance sent to Mr. Williams.

Several of the letters of this period are rich in bits of old time news. Thus one of Feb. 7th 1679-80 to his son-in-law Clarke has the following touch of politics.

"Here is a rumor as Lawrence Turner said to me, of turning the gov'r out (John Cranston) and Walter Clark gov'r, Major Sanford dep &c; and so then the Narraganset or Kings province by itself. William Harris is gone for O England, displeased at our courts act, and will not accept, tho' tendered its said, to be Quenicot agents attorney etc. God can and have Achitophels' council to fall and to hang himself." Gov. Cranston by his death on the 12th. of March — a month later — obviated the necessity of the plan proposed; not Walter Clark but Peleg Sandford was chosen his successor.

From the journey thus mentioned William Harris never returned, but having been captured by a corsair and enslaved was redeemed only to struggle back to London and die.

August 25th. 1680, Mr. Hubbard mentions that his son-in-law "Clarke hath been in Hartford jail and is now a prisoner." The imprisonment and a fine of £ 10. were imposed in consequence of the conflicting claims to the soil about the Pawcatuck river. The fine was subsequently repaid to Clarke by the R. I. Assembly.

On May 14, 1681, he wrote to Isaac Wells of Jamaica, and said:

"As concerning your friends mentioned, Mr. John Clarke died (the) 20 (th) day of April, 1676, Mr. Luker, the 26th day of December, 1676, Mr. Vaughn is ded, elder Tory, my dear brother John Crandall, . . . Mr. Smith, W. Weeden, John Salmon, Mr. Edes, several of the church, gov'r Arnold, gov'r Easton, gov'r Coddington, gov'r John Cranston, choice men, are all dead.

In this we get a glimpse of his increasing loneliness. The age of three score and ten found him with few of those friends about him who had in 1648 welcomed him to Newport. But as these external sources of consolation were vanishing, his soul appears to have acquired a sweet calmness and serenity, — a rest after the storm and stress of life, which never after deserted him.

Hear him :

"All God's holy ordinances are all good, especially prayer, public, private [and in] families. O sweet rest, refreshing dews, I have had by that ordinance of singing psalms, in private and in public, also."

"God's holy scriptures. his word, is as so many fresh pastures yielding fresh flowers and fresh streams of comfort. Let thee and me labour to get ourselves off from all low things, striving, yea pressing, after holiness."

But twice do I find indication of any tendency to verse in Mr. Hubbard's compositions. On the occasion of his son's death in 1671, he composed some lines and sent them to Roger Williams.

This favor the latter acknowledged in a letter of the year 1672, saying :

"I have herein returned your little, yet great, remembrance of the hand of the Lord to yourself and your son late departed."

At another time Mr. Williams alluded to the same matter in these words.

"At present (to repay your kindness and because you are so studeous) I pray you to request my brother Williams, or my son Providence, or my daught'r Hart, to spare you the sight of a memorial in verse, which I lately writ, in humble thanksgiving unto God, for his great and wonderful deliverance to my son Providence."

The second poetic effusion, to use the term *currente calamo*, occurs in a letter to Gov. Leete of Connecticut, Dec. 20, 1682 from which I will quote:

"Honoured governor, your old friend Mr. Philip Eades, a merchant, a precious man, of a holy, harmless, blameless life, and conversation, I judge faithful in what he practised, tho' short in some of Jehovah's requirm'ts, beloved of all sorts of men; his death was much bewailed. I shall give you a copy of some verses made at his death.

This loss to all, that God thus call

Away from us such men;

Let us therefore, let's God implore;

There's gone, I think, fifteen.

Both churches and town, great is ye sound;

God's rod is upon all,
That here doth dwell; let's then do well,
To do good, let's do all."

In a supplementary note he gives the date of Mr. Eades' death, as Mar. 16, 1681, and explains his *fifteen* thus, "4 governors, 5 church leaders, and 6 choice bretherin of churches." In a later letter to Gov. Leete, he says of Mr. Eades:

"This friend of yours and mine, one in office in Oliver's house, was for liberty of conscience, a merchant, a precious man, of a holy life and conversation, beloved of all sorts of men." With a change as to office and occupation, the sentence would be an excellent epitaph for Mr. Hubbard himself.

On May 10, 1683, John Thornton writes to Mr. Hubbard.

"Dear brother, thou gavest me an acct. of the death of divers of our ancient friends; since that time the Lord hath arrested by death our ancient and approved friend Mr. Roger Williams, with divers others here."

It is very certain that there were few more sincere mourners for Mr. Williams than that patriarch at "Mayford," who fifty years before had learned from his lips the lesson of soul liberty, and had shared with him persecution for conscience' sake.

In Mr. Hubbard's familiar letters, items grave and gay jostle each other with great freedom. Here are two of Oct. 20, 1683:

"John Clarke is to have Rebecca Hiscox, it's supposed. Old Weaver is ded, near an hundred years old."

Listen to these words in a message to a friend at Boston, on Mar. 28, 1686:

"Just now I remember what my mother's words were near 70 years ago, that thankfulness for mercys was a coning way

of begging more mercies. Psalm 103:12, 17, 18. And I may say with old Jacob, Gen. 32: 10, that I came over with myself, and God have made me 3 bands. This day I heard God have added one grandchild more to my store, that now I have grand-children 28, great-grand-children 10, son-in-laws 3, great son-in-laws 3 and my 3 daughters now alive; 4 I buried; my all and mine 49." All but three of these were keepers of the seventh day sabbath.

At the close of 1686, he wrote to his friend Thornton thus:

My wife and I counted up this year 1686. My wife a creature 78 years, a convert 62 years, married 50 years, an independent and joined to a church 52 years, a baptist 38 years, a sabbath keeper 21 years. I a creature 76 years, a convert 60 years, an independent and joined to a church 52 years, a baptist 38 years, a sabbath keeper 21 years, . . . Oh, praise the Lord, for his goodness endures forever! . . . These may be my last lines unto you; farewell!"

Four months later, to his daughter Clarke he sends these cheering words:

"Oh children, I see good days at hand, let his lift up their hands, their Lord is at hand; then his shall reign on the earth. (Rev. 20: 4.)"

The latest letter from his pen that we can trace bears date May 7 1688. I find one author * assigning the following year, 1689, as that of his death at the age of 79 but on grounds not altogether satisfactory. He certainly had died before 1692. His wife survived him and was present at a church meeting as late as 1697, after which no further trace of her can be found. There is nothing, therefore, to tell the

* *Thomas B. Stillman, in the Seventh Day Baptist Memorial.*

exact dates of their death or the place of their burial.

Thus we have followed this humble career to its close on earth. It could be paralleled, no doubt, in hundreds of other families established in that day of beginnings in New England; but that fact should not lead us to withhold our appreciation of its worth. Happily for us today, good men were then exceedingly common.

The devout spirit, the loyalty to religious convictions, the grateful heart toward his God and gentle disposition toward all mankind, — these are qualities we must admire in Samuel Hubbard, even though we rejoice in a broader view of the world, a clearer understanding of biblical interpretation and, perhaps, a keener intelligence, than were granted to him. The denomination of which he was a founder owes to him a heavy debt, and does not hesitate to praise his memory. Let the general public now recognize his virtues, and while reserving for larger minds, like those of Williams and Clarke the more conspicuous places in the Rhode Island temple of fame, let them grant to such as he the recognition which devoted men and worthy citizens may rightfully claim.

APPENDIX.

Samuel Hubbard's Family Record.

SAMUEL HUBBARD, born 1610, Mendelsham, co. Suffolk, Eng.; came to Salem Oct. 1633; Watertown, 1634; Windsor, 1635; Wethersfield, 1636; Springfield, May 10, 1639; Fairfield, May 10, 1647; Newport, Oct. 12, 1648. Freeman, 1655, perhaps before; Elected deputy General Solicitor 1664; died 1689 or after at Newport. Married, Jan. 4, 1636-7.

TASE COOPER, born 1608, Eng.; came to Dorchester

June 9, 1634; Windsor, 1635; married there by Mr. Ludlow; died probably at Newport, after 1697.

Children:

- i Naomi, b. Nov. 18, 1637 at Wethersfield; d. Nov. 28 1637, do.
- ii Naomi, b. Oct. 19, 1638 at Wethersfield; d. May 5, 1643, Springfield.
- iii Ruth, b. Jan. 11, 1640, Springfield; d. about 1691, Westerly; m. Nov. 2, 1655, Robert Burdick, b. — d. 1692. Children: i Robert, ii son, iii Hubbard, iv Thomas, v Naomi, vi Ruth, vii Benjamin, viii Samuel, ix Tacy, x Deborah.
- iv Rachel, b. Mar. 10, 1642, Springfield, d. —; m. Nov. 3, 1658, Andrew Langworthy. Children: i Samuel, ii James.
- v Samuel, b. Mar. 25, 1644; Springfield; d. soon.
- vi Bethiah, b. Dec. 19, 1646, Springfield; d. Apr. 17, 1707; m. Nov. 16, 1664, Joseph Clarke, b. Apr. 2, 1643; d. Jan. 11, 1727. Children: i Judith, ii Joseph, iii Samuel, iv John, v Bethiah, vi Mary, vii Susanna, viii Thomas, ix William.
- vii Samuel, b. Nov. 30, 1649, Newport; d. Jan. 20, 1670-1.

DORR'S ARMY. I have often heard the statement "There was no casualties in the battle of Acots Hill." This is a mistake. The casualties on the Dorr side, were the largest on record; and foot up as follows: Killed, none; Wounded, none; Missing, the entire army.

JAMES ALDRICH. Senator James Aldrich, 1805 to 1808; was from Scituate not Smithfield, as stated in Steeres' Smithfield, page 163.

S. H. Allen.

THE GENEALOGY OF UNCAS.

By Richard A. Wheeler, Stonington Conn.

THE genealogy and lineage of Uncas, Sachem of Moheag, beginning at Tamaquawshad, who was grandfather to the said Uncas his father, and so bringing it down to Uncas and his successors, in which is also showed his native right to such lands, with their respective boundaries as are hereafter mentioned:

The above named Tamaquawshad had many relatives which lived aboye Queenabaug River, and also up the Nipmuck Country, who were never privileged by marriage into the Royal stock, for the said Tamaquawshad had declared to keep the Royal blood within the realm of the Moheags and Pequots. The great-grand-mother of said Uncas was a great Queen, and lived at Moheag; her name was Au-comp-pa-change-sug-gunsh.

His mother's grand-father was the Chief Sachem of the Pequot Country in his time, and lived at Au-cum-bumsk, in the heart of the Country, and was named Nuck-qunt-do-waus.

Uncas, his grand-father, was the sonne of Nuck-qunt-do-waus, above named, and was the Chief Sachem of the Pequot Country, and lived at Au-cnm-bumsk above named, and was named Woipequund.

His grand-mother was the daughter of Weesoum, the Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, and her mother's name was Kesh-ke-choo-walt-ma-kunsh, the chief Sachem's Squaw of

the Moheags. And she was neice to Ahadou, who was the sonne of Nuck-qunt-do-waus, and she was the sister to Au-compachaug Suggunsh.

Uncas, his father, who was wholly of the Royal blood, his name was Owoneco, and he was the sonne of Woipequund, and the said Woipequund and Uncas, his mother, had both one mother. The said Uncas was called Muk-kum-nup, and her mother before her was called by the same name. Tatobern's father's name was Wo-peg-worrit.

The said Uncas and mother declare that about the time of his father's decease, his said father moved to Totabern, who was then the great Sachem of the Pequots Country, for a match between his eldest sonne and said Tatobern's daughter. The said Tatobern did readily embrace the motion above-said and gave his free consent, alledging that by this connection, they should keep their lands entire from any violation either from neighboring or foreign Indians; but before the consumation of this match the said eldest sonne died, and then, by the determination of the Indian Council both of the Pequots and Moheags, it was concluded and joyntly agreed, that Uncas, the next brother to the deceased, should proceed in the said match, which thing Uncas accepted, and was married to her about ten years before the Pequott warres, and had three children by her, two of which died, Owoneco only surviving.

Further, the said Uncas doth declare, and looks upon it a thing which may be easily proved from the contract of the great Sachems, viz: his father and the Sachems of the Pequot Country, upon the making of that match above specified, and his right to the Pequot Country was good and unquestionable; who, although she was of the Pequot blood, she neither would, nor did, forsake him in the time of the warre,

and also he himself, though in such affinitie unto the said Pequots, yet his wife and he showing their fidelitie unto the English, himself adventuring for their assits in that warre, that it would look hard to him by this unhappy warre to be deprived of his true and legal right to that country, which, if it shall seem good to my friends the English to my successors so far as reason shall appear to maintain, it will without doubt be a friendly, though not a costly, requital of my former or later adventuring my selfe in my own person, with the lives of my subjects, for their assistance in offence of the enemies of my good friends the English. I shall thankfully accept it from their hands.

Uncas also declares that his grand-mother and Momohoe's great-grand-mother were own sisters, and that Catheppessit by Worquene and Man-gaw-wammet of Long Island, are both children of the lineage of Nuck-qunt-do-waus, and being of the Royal blood he desires the English would respect them as such.*

* *From the Colony Records of Deeds, Vol. iii page 312.*

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION, — for the nomination of President, and Vice President, ever held in the United States; was the Anti Masonic Convention, held in Baltimore, in September, 1832; that nominated William Wirt of Maryland, for President; and Amos Elmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. The caudidates for Electors, for Rhode Island were:

Willitt Carpenter, of North Kingstown; Bates Harris, of Cranston; Thomas Corey, Jr. of Portsmouth; Christopher Spencer, of Warwick. Rhode Island gave this ticket 876 votes.

S. H. Allen.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE
NARRAGANSETTS.
DEC. 19, 1675.

A critical analysis of the various accounts and facts of the event.

By Welcome Arnold Greene, Esq. of Providence.

IT will probably seem to most readers, that the telling of the story of the Great Swamp Fight, must be like the rehearsing of a many times twice told tale.

The fact of the fight and its general result, is of course, well known; but I doubt if many who have not been on the Ground, have any correct idea of the details thereof.

The accounts given of it are, in many respects misleading. The site of the "Fort," (so called) on which the assault was made is spoken of by some Historians, as a "hill" rising in a swamp; by other, and more cautious ones, as "a rising ground." Now in a swamp any land, to be dry, must be "rising," above the water line, and in fact the island on which this "fort" stood, appeared to me, when standing upon it, to rise just about fifteen inches above the Highwater line. In June 1885, a party of six of whom the writer was one, rode through the swamp onto the island, and we could not appreciate just where the wheels left the wet grass at the edge of the swamp and entered on the dry land. Of course an area of three or four acres would not be a dead level, but not one of us estimated the highest part of the island to be more than three feet above highwater level. My own estimate was as stated, about fifteen inches.

Again, the island is spoken of, by the most cautious historians as being strongly fortified. "Strongly," is a relative term, — very relative, — and some bolder, or more careless historians, have gone so far as to make the term include a wall of masonry around it. Others, that the indian fort was palisadoed round and within that was a clay wall.

To speak of a clay wall on the island seems to one standing upon it an absurdity. There is no clay on the island. It is a mile through an almost impassable swamp to the nearest dry land, and there is no clay bed known to exist for miles around. To suppose that the Narraganset indians dug that clay miles away, and "packed" it on their backs across that swamp in order to make that clay wall, requires an estimation of indian character that is based purely on the imagination. Again how long would a clay wall, (it is not spoken of as a bank, but wall.) last? It is not claimed that the clay was baked, and unbaked clay in this climate would melt down like snow before the first hard south east rain.

To correct these and many similar errors in details, I propose to spend a few moments in telling simply what was the condition of the fort, and what took place around and in it, on Sunday, December 19th, 1675; between one and five o'clock in the afternoon.

It was bitter cold. The swamp was frozen, and the thick ice made the water an aid instead of an hindrance to an attacking party. A north east wind was blowing and the fine fierce snow of a "zero snow-storm," was beating down from heaven.

On the island, — which is irregular in form and covers perhaps three and a half acres, — about five hundred wigwams mostly of the smaller indian style, of about fourteen

feet in diameter. It will be seen that these alone covered two and one quarter acres of the space, and left only an acre and a quarter for defensive works and fighting space.

Around this village was a line of "palisadoes," which consisted of stakes driven into the ground, and outside of that for a space of about a rod, was piled up fallen trees and brush making a sort of chiveaux de frieze.

The Massachusetts men claim that outside of the fort the Indians had "block houses" and "flankers." We do not think that these "block houses" and "flankers," are so purely imaginary as the description of the fort by one writer, who says that on a high island in the swamp the indians had erected a fort of masonry surrounded by a moat, but warn all hearers to reflect that the term block house, may apply to a building no larger than a dog kennel, and that of a flanker, to a rail fence.

It is evident that no fortification of any account, besides the palisadoes and brush fence, existing from the simple fact that the erections already described have covered nearly all the land on the island and to have any extensive block houses, they would have to be built out over the water. Probably the so called Block Houses, were indian wigwams built a little heavier than usual and looped holed at the sides.

It is a misnomer to call the affair a fort in any sence. It was simply a densely crowded Indian Village, with a line of fence and brush around it. Had this line of fence and brush extended all round the village, it would have been an ample protection for the purpose of indian warfare, but it did not. At the north east corner there was a large gap; where neither palisades, nor "hedge," or abatis, had been placed; and where the only protection was a long tree with one end resting on the work at each side of the gap, and the upper side about

five feet from the ground. Assailants might creep under or leap over this tree. This formed the "weak spot," in the fortification and here the attack was made. But for the bitter coldness of the weather even this spot would have been unassailable, owing to the depth of the water in front of it; but, in this weather the water was covered by ice as firm and hard as a pavement.

In ordinary weather the only approach to the village, was by a long fallen tree forming a bridge over a peice of water on which the approachers must travel in single file and which would be raked by the guns or arrows, or guns and arrows of the defenders. Many writers speak as if such was the case at this time and this was the tree over which the whites charged, but that understanding is a mistaken one. The tree over (and under) which they charged, was the tree at the gap.

Inside the huts or wigwams were stored "great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not admitting burial of their store.

In this village were gathered a large number of Indian women, children and old men; and some warriors.

The story of the captors to the effect that there were thirty-five hundred fighting men, fighting against them may be dismissed with the remark that the island; if there were no erections on it, is not large enough for that number of men to act effectively on. With the buildings on it as described and the large number of women and children known to be there, — three hundred, — would seem to be a large estimate of the number of fighting men.

It is true that Captain Oliver says that "By the best intelligence we killed three hundred fighting men, and took say three hundred and fifty, and above three hundred women

and children;" but probably the difference between his estimate, and the one we adopt is mainly due to the difference in meaning given to the term "fighting men." In Captain Olivers estimate all capable of bearing arms were "fighting men," and they probably did fight.

From the northward the firm land projects into the swamp to within a distance of about a mile from the island. It was known that the Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut troops, (joined by volunteers from this colony) were in the neighborhood and that if an attack were made on the fort it would be probably from the northern side; hence a body of warriors were in the woods at the edge of the swamp in that direction as a sort of Picket guard.

Since before the break of day an army composed of nearly 550 Massachusetts troops, 315 Connecticut white troops with 150 indians, 158 Plymouth troops and an unknown number of volunteers from Rhode Island and Providence Plantations had been marching from the eastward to attack the Indians.

At about one o'clock P. M. the army came upon the outlying pickets of the Narragansetts in the woods to the northward of the "fort." The Massachusetts regiment was leading in the march, the Plymouth next and the Connecticut troops bringing up the rear. Of the Massachusetts troops those under Captains Mosely and Davenport leading the van came first upon the indians and immediately opened fire upon them. The indians returned the fire by an ineffectual volley and immediately fled into the swamp, closely pursued by the foremost companies, they reached the island until onto which they hastily fled,

The whites pursued so closely that they were led straight to the pass, over the fallen tree, admitting entrance by single file only, used by the indians.

Fortunately for themselves the whites did not assail at this point but recoiled before the fortifications; as new troops came up they formed to the eastward, and discovered the gap in the line of fortification above mentioned.

The Companies of Captains Davenport and Johnson came first to this place, marching over the frozen water, and immediately charged over and under the tree trunk, into the village.

Captain Johnson fell dead at the tree and Davenport a little within the enclosure. Their men were met with so fierce a fire that they were forced to retire out of the indian lines, and fall upon their faces, "to avoid the fury of the musketry till it should somewhat abate." Captains Mosely and Gardner with their companies came to the assistance of these two assailing companies, and were met with a similar reception. They maintained a bush fight, till the men who had fallen "upon their faces," had a chance to creep away unharmed.

The honors so far were even. The whites were now behind the trees in the swamp, the indians behind the works on the island and remained firing at will, and putting in a shot when and where they thought that it would do the most good.

After this "business" had been kept up for a time Major Appleton with his own and Captain Olivers' men came to their assistance, massed the entire force in a storming column and inspiring their men by a cry that the indians were running, made an impetuous assault. They carried the entrance again, drove the indians from one of the "flankers," but could not advance any further. The indians from a "block house," commanding the entrance kept them from and at bay in that direction, others fighting from the shelter of wigwams kept them from advancing laterally beyond the "flanker,"

In the meantime the General - Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony; holding the Plymouth forces in reserve, pushed forward the Connecticut troops. They pressed onward and joined the troops in the gap.

As to the next steps in the battle accounts vary. Some represent the indians rallied, and drove the English a second time entirely out of the lines, while others maintain that after the whites gained the second foothold across the tree in the gap they never gave it up.

However this may be it is certain that fighting was kept up in and around this place for hours; but this fighting was not the fighting of modern warfare, nor was it, as it is by many supposed to have been, like that of a storming party at a breach, hand to hand. Every man on each side found cover as best he could and fired at the enemy when he thought he could do so to best advantage. That it was mere bush fighting is shown by the extent of the losses. Here were nearly a thousand men fighting on a comparative small space. (The gap could not have been more than eighty feet wide) for hours against an enemy of unknown numbers and yet the number of dead on the part of the whites at the end of the battle was EIGHT. Twelve more were mortally wounded, so that in the fearfully cold atmosphere to which they were subjected they died before the army left the ground whither their deaths resulted from exposure, want of surgical care, or from their wounds being necessarily mortal can never be known.

These thousand men were not all fighting at the same time. As supporting troops came up the others as they became tired retired to a place of rest and safety. Finally it became necessary to bring the reserved Plymouth troops into

the fight and the whole army had been involved in a life and death struggle.

There was every prospect that the whites would be defeated. They would have been but for the idea that occurred to some one of them to fire the enemies works. The brush fence that was outside the palisades was mainly of cedar and junipers which would burn like tinder. The wigwams within were of the usual Narragansett make, frame works of poles covered with heavy mats of woven sedge and almost equally inflammable. The block houses, if they were of wood, which is doubtful, would catch fire from their inflammable surroundings. The wind was blowing fiercely from the north-east. The whites were attacking the north-east corner of the inclosure. The wigwams were so dencely crowded together that in that fierce gale if a fire started in one of them, no effort could prevent its spreading to all those to leeward of it.

About four o'clock the fire was applied.

The flames leaped madly from wigwam to wigwam. The indians who were sick or unable to fly perished miserably in their homes; those able to move fled wildy before the flames out under the wintry sky, while the CHRISTIAN white men amused them-selves in shooting them down in cold blood from their safe position on the wind-ward side of the flames. It was no longer a fight. It was a slaughter.

It is estimated that besides those who perished in the fort — five hundred women and children perished during that fearful freezing night — Homeless, fireless, foodless, on that frozen Narraganset swamp.

Think of it christian men and women !

Think of the children of tender years; the babes at the breast; the mothers who robbed them-selves of their robes in the vain hope that the lives of their suffering children might

be thereby prolonged; all exposed in that zero weather to the cold granular snow that smote like flints upon their quivering flesh?

Think of that phase of it when you hear this massacre denominated, as it lately has been; by a high Massachusetts authority, "one of the most glorious victories ever achieved in our history.

I have called it a MASSACRE. The term may sound harsh but the facts bear it out.

Of the eleven hundred men of the attacking party, who were all fighting more or less for three hours; and who were more exposed than the defenders, so that their loss would naturally be greatest. The number of men actually killed in the combat was EIGHT.

Call the loss of the indians in the battle double that of the whites, (it would be more likely to be one half,) and we have sixteen slain in the battle.

Now take the actual number of indians killed that day.

The different accounts vary, being from two to seven hundred, but Captain Oliver writing after the different accounts had been received and collated states, "By the best intelligence we killed 300 fighting men." Nineteen-twentieths of them must have been killed after the wigwams were fired, and he takes no account of the women and children slain.

If that was not a massacre, then I pray you to tell me what is the true definition of the word.

Well — The combat and the slaughter were over. —

The shades of night fell fast and the white troops weary and dispirited; gathered on the edge of the swamp; while the cold wind howled a requiem over the remains of the victims, and the pure cold snow was covering as with a mantle; not

of pity nor charity but of decency to put out of sight the evidences of deeds that ought never to have been performed.

The question naturally was, what to do next?

'Tis strange;

"How conscience doth make cowards of us all."

Through the gathering shades of that December night this army thought to discern thousands of indian warriors, hastening to avenge their slaughtered friends. A captive told them of a large reserve force about a mile distant, "To whom," (says Joseph Dudley, a staff officer,) "if God had so pleased; we had been but a morsel after so much disablement." They did not stop to think that if a reserved force had been within a mile of them it would have attacked them hours before.

Whilst the wounds of the injured were being dressed, a hasty consultation was held, and it was decided that the safest plan to adopt was to return to Wickford. During this time twelve of the wounded died making the number that perished in and around the fort, twenty.

Then commenced one of the strangest scenes in our history. This conquering army, with scores of wounded men needing instant attention and rest; in the teeth of a blinding snow-storm beat a forced retreat of eighteen miles from an enemy over whom they had just won a "glorious victory." More men of that army dropped in their tracts and died during that march than had perished in the whole affair preceeding it. The remainder scatterd, bewildered, and fatigued; straggled into camp at Wickford about two o'clock in the morning, excepting the General and staff who became lost; wandered back to the sceue of the fight, retook the line of retreat, and reached Wickford about five hours after the rest of the army.

The loss of the English as generally given is much greater than I have given. The reason is that I have distinguished between those that perished in and around the fort, and those who died on the retreat to Wickford. How many of these died from the victory, and how many from the retreat can never be known.

There are some things about this expedition that seem inexplicable.

Here was an army of near twelve hundred men who marched thirteen miles in a blinding snow-storm into the heart of the enemies country, and that enemy the most powerful one in the land; to attack the refuge of the tribe, and did not take with them any reserve supplies of food, nor exercised that first measure of military prudence — looking out for a line of retreat in case of disaster.

They fought for three hours before firing the wigwams, when it would seem that if their sole desire was to destroy the fort it might have been done at the beginning; thus giving daylight and comparatively fresh men with which to make the return journey.

After the battle, tired, hungary, and encumbered with disabled men, they made a precipitate retreat in the teeth of that blinding snow-storm and the darkness of night to escape from an army that proved to be imaginary.

How can this be explained?

The most plausible theory in explanation is that the real fighting warriors of the tribe were not at the fort. That the English knew it through information derived from renegade indians their spies, and, that when they started, they expected to find the island occupied mainly by women children and superannuated men, to seize the place, drive out or capture the inmates, and living on the enemies provis-

ions; hold the island till the enemy were forced by starvation to come to terms.

This theory is so startlingly opposed to the generally received ideas on the subject that I would not ask you to listen to it even without giving you the grounds for it.

First. — Joseph Dudley, a staff officer; writing three days before the battle says, "We hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayr battle."

This letter must have been written after arrangements for this expedition were making. The cutting off their forage is mentioned as preliminary to a "fayr battle."

The forage was on this island, and if the warriors were on the island the battle would have come first.

It is probable that the "Indian Peter," from whom, in the same letter, he speaks of information in regard to the Narragansetts being received; had informed them of the where-about of the warriors and that it would be safe to make such a dash.

Second — This theory and this only, makes reasonable their marching as above into an enemies country, without reserves of food nor means of retreat. Unless they had such information it was the most fool-hardy expedition ever planned.

Third. — This theory and this only, explains the fear that drove them to make that terrible march to Wickford. If they knew that the warriors were away, they would suppose that runners were sent for them as soon as the indians at the island were definitely aware of the proposed attack; and that the warriors might return at any time. In that case the march to Wickford was a measure of prudence, the choice between two evils. In any other light in which we can see it, it was an act of madness.

It is not intended in this account to favor one side or the other, but simply to tell the plain story of the fight as it occurred, because in many matters it was misapprehended. In no single account have I seen all these misapprehensions set right, and this is the reason for attempting to lay before you a plain unvarnished account of this oft related affair.*

* *A Paper read before the Rhode Island Veteran Citizens Historical Association June 7, 1886.*

ELECTION AND 'LECTION. Election day, in Rhode Island, popularly called "Lection," has a different signification in Rhode Island, from election day in other states. Applying to the day upon which state officers are engaged — the day called in other states Inauguration day. — 'Lection day has been changed several times in the history of the state, and in searching old records or newspapers for political information the following may be useful.

Under the Patent, — 1647 to 1663, — By vote of Assembly 'Lection day was the Tuesday after May 15.

Under the Charter, — 1663 to 1843, — First Wednesday in May.

Under the Constitution, — 1843 to 1855, — First Tuesday in May.

Under the Constitution as amended; 1855, to the present: Last Tuesday in May.

JAMES FENNER. The name of James Fenner, is given in the Rhode Island Manuel, as Chief Justice of the state in 1818. Mr. Fenner, did not serve as Chief Justice, but declined and Asa Messer, of Providence, was elected his successor in June of that year.

S. H. Allen.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

RHODE ISLAND CAPITALS. Persons, in other states, often express surprise that Rhode Island, the smallest state in the Union, has two Capitals. Their surprise would be greater, however, if they knew that from 1647 to 1855, the state had from three to five capitals. Under the Patent, 1647 to 1663 the Legislature met at Newport, Warwick, Portsmouth and Providence. Some years at one of these towns, some years at another. After the colony was divided into counties, the Legislature met at the shire town, of each county; by adjournment from the annual Electon at Newport, The Constitution, of 1843, made the following provision:

“ There shall be two sessions of the General Assembly holden annually; one at Newport, on the First Tuesday of May, the other on the last Monday of October, which last session shall be holden at South Kingstown once in two years, and in the intermediate years; alternately at Bristol and East Greenwich; and an adjournmant from the October session shall be holden at Providence.

If the capital of a state is the city or town where its laws are made; then, Rhode Island, from 1663 to 1854, had from three to five capitals; but in 1854 the State Constitution was amended as follows:


“ There shall be one session of the General Assembly holden annually at Newport, and an adjournment from the same shall be holden annually at Providence.”

THE FILLMORE ELECTORAL TICKET of 1856, was: — William Sprague, of Warwick; Henry Y. Cranston, of Newport; Orrey Taft, of Providence; Dauiel Rodman, of South Kingstown. The only towns giving a plurality for this ticket (American) were Newport and South Kingstown.

S. H. Allen.

A HISTORY OF THE
DRUG BUSINESS IN PROVIDENCE.

By Oliver Johnson, Esq. of Providence.

HE first newspaper published in Providence was the "Providence Gazette and Country Journal." and the first number was issued October 20th, 1762. In this number there appeared the following advertisement:

"TO BE SOLD,

BY SAMUEL CAREW.

At the PESTLE and MORTAR, the West Side of the Bridge, in PROVIDENCE, at the Shop lately occupied by Doctor Bass; A Fresh and general Assortment of the best of MEDICINES CHYMICAL and GALENICAL.

Where may be had BATEMANS' Pectoral Drops, TURLINGTONS' Balsam of Life, STOUGHTONS' Elixir, DAFFEYS' Elixir Salutes, LOCKERS' Pills, HOOPERS' Female Pills, ANDERSONS' Pills, PLUMMERS' Æthiop, Cloves, Cinnamon, Mace, Nutmegs, Alspice, Pepper; Lancets and Syringes, Salt Peter, Borax, Pot Ash, Allum, Copperas, red Lead, white Lead, Vermilion, SPANISH BROWN, Verdegreaase, Indigo, Coffee, Rice, &c, &c, &c, Practioners by sending a Note, will be as well served as if they came themselves, and may depend on having every Thing the best in its kind."

From this advertisement is obtained a knowledge of what constituted a drug store in those days, and it is much the same now as then. Not that this variety is necessary, or that other and dissimilar articles are not kept in a drug store. It is a fact worthy of mention that the patent medicines

thus advertised, with scarcely an exception, are now in use and recognized either as officinal or semi officinal preparations. Webster defines a drug as "Any annual, vegetable, or mineral substance used in the composition of medicines; any stuff used in dyeing or in chemecal operations." The drug business is therefore a broad and comprehensive one. It includes not medicines only, but many articles more or less extensively used by chemists and manufacturers and it will be so considered in this paper.

It will be seen by Carews' advertisement that he was not the first druggist in Providence, for he announces himself as the successor of Doctor Bass. Who was the first druggist is not known. It is not unlikely he was a physician. Bass was one, and so was Carew, although he does not so call himself in his advertisement, yet he is always called by others; and after his death his successor refers to him as the late Dr. Carew. Further evidence that physicians who preceeded them sold drugs is not wanting.

The probate records show that Dr. Vandelight, who died in 1755, left a stock of drugs and instruments amounting to £ 4,375, - 14 S, -4 d,. He lived on South Main St. between College and Hopkins Sts. in a house still standing. With money at its present value the stock kept by him would be considered a large one for a retail druggist in this day. Dr. Vandelight was preceded by Dr. Jabez Bowen, who came here from Rehoboth about the middle of the last century, and was the first physician of note to permanently settle in Providence. Dr. John Greene came here in 1637, but remained only a short time, and then moved to Warwick. The town records show that in 1720, £ 1, 10 S, was voted to Dr. John Jones for the cure of Richard Collins, "when he is well;" but this is all that is known of him, and he was only

to be paid when his patient was well. If this rule prevailed generally, Quacks would have a hard time of it.

Dr. Bowen was so intimately connected with the town that a word or two concerning him will not be amiss. He was a physician of great celebrity, and during his residence here achieved a high reputation, both in his profession and as a citizen. He lived on North Main St., near Bowen St., which was named for him. His death, which occurred in 1770, was a great loss to the town. Whether he kept medicines for sale, has not been ascertained. In the obituary notice at the time of his death no mention is made of it, if such was the fact, and yet it is not improbable that when he first came to the town he dispensed as well as prescribed medicines.

This is all the information which has been obtained relative to the drug business prior to the publication of the Gazette in October, 1762. From this date our record will be more full if not more accurate. The aid afforded by the advertisements in the early newspapers of the town, is an evidence of the value of advertising which was hardly thought of either by the advertisers, or the publishers whose hearts were undoubtedly made glad by the patronage then received.

In continuing our history we find that in 1762 some one advertises his location as opposite "Benjamin Bowens' Apothecary shop." Nothing more is heard of him until August, 1770, when Benjamin Bowen and Benjamin Steele advertise themselves as being, at the well known Apothecary shop just below the church, at the sign of the Unicorn and Mortar. The location was then undoubtedly well known, and even now there is but little doubt about it. At this time there was the old Baptist meeting house on North Main St., the Beneficent house on Broad street, to say nothing of the Quaker place of meeting. But these were generally known

as meeting houses, while the St. John, on North Main street was called the church. Now, if we except the Friends', all are called churches. The location of Bowen and Steele was therefore in all probability near the St. John Church.

In January, 1763, Jabez Bowen, Jr. announces that he has for sale at his shop fronting the great bridge, drugs and most kinds of paints, which he has just imported from London. It is quite noticeable that in the early papers nearly every one advertises his goods as just imported. Jabez Bowen, Jr. is supposed to have been the son of Dr. Jabez, and his store to have been in the Abbott house on Market Square, better known to us as the Manufacturers Hotel.

The same year (March 28,) two additional drug dealers are heard from, Dr. Robert Gibbs gives notice that he has, " A FRESH and general Assortment of the best MEDICINES, Chymecal and Galenical, imported in some of the last ships from London." This expression, "Some of the last ships from London," would indicate a lively foreign traffic even for a much later day, and in some of our larger sea-ports. There is nothing in this advertisement to inform us how long he had been established in the town, nor where he was located, and his name does not again appear. The records show, however, that he died in 1769, and his inventory of drugs amounted to £ 1470, 12 S. The other druggist was Jonathan Arnold, who (Dec. 3,) " Informs his Acquaintance and others in Town and Country, that he has just opened a Shop in Dr. Joseph Hewes' new House, at the North End of the Town of Providence, and has to sell a complete Assortment of Drugs, Chymical and Galenical at the very lowest Rates."

For the next six years there are but few advertisements, and no new dealers are heard of.

October, 21, 1769, we first make the acquaintance of Amos Throop, who is located on the west side of the bridge, and like the rest has "A fresh Assortment of Medicines &c." We shall know more of him as we proceed.

May, 18, 1771, Jabez Bowen announces drugs, medicines, painters colors and dye stuffs. Also hardware and West India goods, "at his store on the wharf of Samuel Chace, Esq." This appears to be another Jabez Bowen from the Jabez, Jr. whose shop was fronting the great bridge. It is true that Dr. Bowen was then dead, and his son would therefore no longer be a junior; but this does not explain the fact that November, 9, following Jabez Bowen is, as formerly, at "his shop fronting the great bridge." At this time he announces that in addition to drugs and medicines, he has a neat assortment of fall and winter goods, consisting of "broadcloths &c; also dry goods, crockery, iron & steel."

There seems therefore, to have been three Jabez Bowens' Dr. Jabez Bowen; Jabez Bowen, Jr.; fronting the bridge, and Jabez Bowen, on the wharf; unless one had two stores, which was hardly probable in those days. The late John Howland mentions a Colonel Bowen, who was in command of the Providence regiment in the expedition against Rhode Island, in 1777. This was probably the one in the Abbott House, which was owned by him. He was a nephew of its founder, and was afterward Lieutenant Governor of the state.

In the paper of the date last referred to (May 18, 1771,) Edward Thurber, whose store was at the north end, gives a list of articles, among which are some drugs, paints, oils and window glass, which were imported in the Snow Tristram. The Ship Snow Tristram, was often mentioned in the papers of those days.

Amos Throop (May 18,) also has goods by the same vessel. He has, however, changed his location, as he is now "next door to Colonel Dexters'," who was opposite the printing office in Meeting Street, near the old Court House. This was Col. Knight Dexter, who in 1762 sold books, dry-goods, and sundries at his shop, sign of the "Boy and Book." Later he kept a livery stable.

In September, (28) Mr. Throop appears to be at the same place, but he describes it, " at the sign of the Pestle and Mortar, in King Street."

December 19, 1772, Dr. Samuel Carew is dead, and Thomas Truman, his apprentice, continues the business at the old stand, near the Rev. Mr. Snows' meeting house. Mr. Snow was at first a member of the Beneficent Church and there its first pastor. In April (10) of the next year Mr. Truman announces that he has moved, " two doors further down street.

August 28, following, Mr. Throop removed to opposite the Court House, which was not far from his former place of business.

February 26, 1774, Thomas Truman gives notice that he has again moved, this time "to the house lately occupied by Captain Thomas Monro, opposite Mrs. Carews,' at the upper end of Broad street near " the Rev. Mr. Snows' meeting house."

This year (Mar. 19,) we have a new druggist who in subsequent years is often heard from. John Chace gives notice that he has "just imported from London, via Boston, and to be sold;" "at his fathers shop nearly opposite Messers Browns' store, A general Assortment of Drugs and Medicines of a Superior Quality. Also genuine Patent Medicines."

The Messers Browns', referred to were Nicholas, Joseph and Moses Brown, who were in business on South Main street.

June 18, of this year the partnership between Bowen and Steele is dissolved, and Benjamin Bowen continues the business, as he says, "in the usual place."

About the same time (July 9,) John Chace announces fresh Drugs and Medicines for sale, "just below the Great Bridge." Two years later, (Oct. 19, 1776,) he locates himself as "near the market," which was probably the same place as those before named.

May 24, 1777, Thomas Truman, Physician and Surgeon, "acquaints the public that he now lives in Johnston. . . . and continues his business as usual." He is now a Physician but whether in his new location he sells drugs is not certain, nor is it known what becomes of the old store. He does not, however, long continue his business, (whatever it may have been) in Johnston; for the next April (18, 1778) he Advertises the Public in general, and his former Customers and Friends in particular, that he has lately removed into Capt. Job Sweetings' house, in Broad street, where he has for Sale a Variety of useful and well chosen Medicines."

The next we hear of him is in 1781, (Dec. 8,) when he advertises for patronage, and announces "that he has opened a " WRITING OFFICE " at his house, where every-thing in the Scriveners' Way is performed in a neat, concise and accurate Manner, and on reasonable Terms."

In 1783, he has a partner, and Thomas Truman & Co. carry on the business at the same place, and there we will leave him.

In the Gazette of August 9, 1777, the following advertisement may be found.

"Convinced that the Uncertainty of human Affairs at all times, and more especially the present, render it prudent to provide as much as possible against contingent Events, the Subscriber calls upon all persons, in any way indebted to him, to settle their respective Debts; the Scarcety of Money cannot now be admitted as an Excuse for further Delay; And willing to do as he would be done unto, he invites his Creditors to receive their several Demands against him. If those indebted shall not pay due Regard to this Notice, they may expect to be called upon in another Manner, by their Friend.—

JONATHAN ARNOLD-

N. B. Said ARNOLD has for Sale, Salts, Jalap, Camphire, Senna, Rhubarb, Calomel, Tartar Emetic, and a variety of the most capital and useful medicinal Articles Practitioners and Inoculists may be served with them if applied for soon."

Mr. Arnold, it will be remembered, opened a store in 1763 in Dr. Joseph Hewes' new house at the north end, and for ought that is known was still there. His experience in the collection of debts was not an uncommon one. The credit system was as prevalent then as now, and it appears to be as difficult to collect bills. Notices to settle bills appear often in the papers, and strange as it may appear; even lottery tickets were sold on credit. The difficulty in collecting pay for tickets drawing blanks may be easily imagined, but the sellers had the advantage even now, the lotteries were authorized and such indebtedness was legitimate.

According to Webster, logwood is a drug, and so note is taken of an advertisement of logwood for sale at Messers Russells' store.

March 14, 1778, a new drug store is announced; or rather it is the first mention of it which has been noticed. It begins in this wise:

"Just Received, via France, a very valuable assortment of the most capital

MEDICINES.

Which are to be sold wholesale and retail, as cheap as can be purchased in the United States by

Henry H. Tillinghast, and Comp.

At the shop of Col. Daniel Tillinghast, below the great bridge in Providence."

Then follows a long list of drugs and medicines, but there is nothing to show whether it is a new store or one long established.

About seven months later (Oct. 3,) we find the following:

"A complete Assortment of MEDICINES, Chymical and Galenical, to be SOLD by Drown and Tillinghast, at their Shop, in the House of Solomon Drown, Esq. just above the market."

To this is added.

"Those to whom the Aid of the healing Art may be requisite, if pleased to employ said Drown, will be attended, to the best of his Ability and Fidelity."

As Henry H. Tillinghast, and Comp. are not heard of again, it is supposed that the Tillinghast with Drown is the same one, and yet the location of the two stores is different one being, "below the great bridge," and the other, "just above the market."

November 28, of the same year John Chace announces, "Fresh drugs and medicines imported directly from Holland."

Passing over two years we next hear from Amos Throop August 26, 1780, and this is how he addresses the people of those days.

"To be sold by Amos Throop At the Pestle and Mortar, NOT opposite the State House, as formerly, but in Westminster street." — "Not a LARGE but GENERAL Assortment of MEDICINES." A long list follows, and then he adds; Westminster street is on the West Side of what is called the great Bridge, sometimes known as by the Name of New or Back street, a little to the Westward of Mr. Jacob Whitmans', where stands on the right Hand as you pass out of Town, a large three Story House, built by Mr. Jonathan Ellis, latterly occupied by Messieres Church, West, Fry & Co. Something of an odd place for a Drug Shop, but the World is odd, and every one 'n it. I am of the World."

There is no mistaking this locality, and if every advertisement had been as definite and precise, the early history of the town would be much more easily written than now.

Having at some length brought the history of the drug business to the year 1782, less attention to details will now be given. Sufficient extracts from the records have been made to illustrate the methods of the dealers in the olden time, and henceforth our notices will be briefer and our progress more rapid.

In 1783, James Mason imported drugs, and sold them at the store of James Sabin, on the west side of the bridge. The next year we find Dr. Stephen Randall, who was a surgeon in the army of the revolution, engaged in the drug business at what is now No. 636, North Main street. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shadrack Manton. In 1785, Thomas Jones sold drugs near the great bridge. In

1789, Foster, Drown & Co., were in the business on Westminster street, at the sign of Celsus Head. In 1791 there was a drug store in the house of J. Mason, Esq. a few doors north of the Court House, which was kept by Job Scott. The same year Joseph Williams, were in the business on Benefit street. In 1794, Dr. Nathen Truman had a drug store on North Main street, directly opposite the Baptist Meeting House. His nephew, the late Truman Beckwith,, was his clerk. In 1797, Dr. Benjamin Dyer, was importing drugs and medicines from London, but where sold is not known. The same year Joseph Lee, also a druggist, was on the east side. In 1799, Dr. George W. Hoppin commenced business in the house of Capt. Loring Aborn, at the head of Long Wharf. He stayed there until 1813, when he moved to a store south of the market, and was there succeeded by his sons George and Charles.

In 1801, there was a drug store directly opposite the bridge, which was kept by Horatio G. Bowen, and afterward by Bowen and Eddy. About the year 1805, Dr. Benjamin Dyer, and his brother Charles, under the firm name of Benjamin and Charles Dyer; commenced the drug business on Broad street. Dr. Dyer was a student of Dr. Nathan Truman, a distinguished physician at that time, and who has heretofore been mentioned as engaged in the business on North Main street. Dr. Dyer practiced medicine for a long time. He was also very enterprising. A large area of land south of Weybosset street was filled in by him, and prepared for building purposes under his directions. He erected the Dyer block on Broad street, corner of Mathewson street. He owned a summer residence in Cranston, now Elmwood, where he had a large field devoted to raising currants for

making wine. He also engaged in the silk culture. He died in 1831.

From Broad St. Messers B. & C. Dyer removed to a brick building, which they had erected on the site of the Arcade, on Weybosset street, where they continued the business, dealing, largely in indigoes. They afterward moved to the Union Bank building, on Market street now Westminster street. Here they associated with them their nephew, Amasa Manton, (who had been employed as clerk,) under the firm name of Dyers' & Manton. They soon after moved to South Water street, and then the Dyers sold their interest to Geo. W. Hallet, of Boston, whose son with the same name took his place in the firm which was known as Manton and Hallet. They continued in business many years at this place, and eventually became one of the largest drug houses in the country. For several years they controlled the sale of French madder in the United States.

The successors of Dyers' & Manton on Market street, were Benjamin and Charles Dyer, Jrs. who afterwards were connected with Manton & Hallet, on South Water street, under the firm name of Dyers Manton & Hallet. After the dissolution of this partnership, Charles Dyer Jr., moved to Weybosset St., occupying two adjoining stores, Nos. 36 & 38, the latter store being on the corner of what is now Hay street. No. 36 was a one story building, and devoted to retailing, was fitted up in an elegant style. Over the door was a large painting representing the Scriptural scene of the Good Samaritan. In 1834, Mr. Dyer sold out to Oliver Johnson & Co., and several years afterward opened a store on Westminster street, where he was succeeded by Augustus H. Field, who subsequently removed to High street, and while there died.

In 1811, there was a drug store in Whitmans' block, on Westminster street, which was kept by H. S. Caxtee. At this time G. & A. Richmond, and Henry Waterman & Co., had drug stores on Market street. The latter was succeeded by Henry W. Steere. In 1818, and for a long time after, Dr. George H. Tillinghast. was a druggist on South Main street.

When Benjamin and Charles Dyer removed from Broad street, their store was taken by Henry A. Condy; who sold out to Dr. John H. Mason; who in 1827, associated with him his clerk, Earl P. Mason, and the firm was known as John H. Mason & Co., Dr. Mason, afterwards withdrew, leaving Earl P. to carry on the business alone. Some years later, they were again associated together for a brief period, and and then Earl P. was once more alone. In 1849, he moved to Canal street, and there admitted to partnership Benjamin M. Jackson, and subsequently, George W. Snow; George L. Claflin; Levi L. Webster; and John L. Draper; all of whom had been in employ for some time. The name of the firm was Earl P. Mason & Co. The next change was, Mr. Mason withdrew from active partnership, and became a special partner, and Mr. Jackson withdrawing altogether, the name was changed to Snow, Claflin & Co. Their successors were Frank Butts, their principle book-keeper; and E. Philip Mason, son of Earl P. Mason, who carried on the business under the firm name of Butts & Mason. Mr. Butts died in 1874, when others were admitted, and the name was changed to Mason, Chapin & Co., which firm still exists, though not as at first constituted. Earl P. Mason, in addition to the drug business was largely interested in various manufacturing and commercial enterprises. He was also president of several institutions. His death occurred in 1876.

The store occupied by Mr. Mason on Broad street, was taken by Sam. Greene, who was succeeded by Hassard & Peckham, and they by G. H. & E. H. Peckham.

Joseph Balch was for many years known as a leading druggist in this city. His place of business was on South Main street. During the latter part of his life his two sons, Joseph and Edward, were associated with him as Joseph Balch & Sons. Joseph Senior, generally known as Dr. Balch, was thoroughly devoted to his business. Early and late he could be found at his store. His death was ere long followed by that of his two sons, and in 1873, the store was taken by George L. Claflin & Co., who remain there.

In 1822, Esek S. C. Leonard, also had a drug store on South Main street. In 1825, Amos J. Rhodes was in the business on North Main street, and was succeeded by Thomas A. Larned. The same year Dr. Benjamin Battley was in the drug trade on South Main street, and was succeeded by Thomas B. Updike; who was succeeded by John H. Parkis. In 1826, Charles D. Greene opened a drug store at No. 18, Weybosset street, and subsequently moved to Eddy street. In 1829, John A. Wadsworth began the drug business at the sign of the Great Mortar on North Main street. In 1849, he sold out to his son-in-law, Henry H. Burrington, who continued in the same business, and near the same place until his death which occurred on the 19, of October, 1884. Dr. Wadsworth after retiring from business went to California, where he practiced medicine, but returned several years before his death in the spring of 1866.

In 1829, George H. Gay was in the business at Nos. 51 & 141 Westminster street. In 1832, Isaac B. Cooke, opened a store on Market street, and in 1836, was succeeded by

Alexander F. Adie, who in 1824 entered the drug store of Dyers & Manton, and in 1830 that of Charles Dyer, Jr. and in 1834 that of Isaac B. Cooke. In 1853 Mr. Adie sold out to Robert B. Chambers, and George B. Calder; who as Chambers & Calder continued the business. They afterward moved to Exchange Place, where they now are, but others having been admitted to partnership the name of the firm has been changed to Chambers Calder & Co.

In 1833, Dr. Sylvester Knight and Oliver Johnson, as Oliver Johnson & Co., opened a store in a new building owned by Cyrus Butler, opposite the Arcade, on Weybosset street, at a rent of \$ 220 per annum. In 1834 they purchased the stock of Charles Dyer Jr. and moved to the next two stores east, Nos. 36 & 38, the rent being \$ 280 for both stores. Dr. Knight came from Centreville, in the town of Warwick where he had an extensive practice. He was a nephew of Nehemiah R. Knight, who was governor of the state, and for more than twenty years a Senator in Congress. Doctor Knight died in 1841, and the business was sold out to Grosvenor & Chace, who were succeeded by Chace & Dodge; and they by William R. Arnold, who died while in business at the stand.

The same year of the death of Dr. Knight, and the sale of the store to Grosvenor & Chace, Oliver Johnson opened a store on Market street, where the Journal office is now located. In 1846, he moved to Exchange street. In 1852, he associated with him his son William S. Johnson, under the firm name of Oliver Johnson & Son. In 1859 Benjamin W. Spink, was admitted to the firm; and subsequently the name was changed to Oliver Johnson & Co. Since then no change has occurred, and they still occupy the same store, but with two adjoining stores added.

Dutee Greene was in the drug business many years on High street. In connection with this business he also dealt largely in gunpowder. Going down the river an object somewhat resembling a tomb may be noticed between Sassafras and Field points. This was Dutee Greenes' powder house. Mr. Greene was succeeded by Charles E. Boone, who in later years was in business with J. William Rice on Exchange Place

John H. Taylor at one time had a drug store on North Main street, as did also Drs. George Capron, and Lloyd B. Brayton. The store of the latter was opposite the First Baptist Meeting House. Dr. Capron was a judicious and careful physician, and continued to occupy a high position to the time of his death, which occurred in 1881. Drs. Capron & Brayton were succeeded by Edward T. Clarke, and he by William B. Blanding, who still has a store near by in addition to another on Weybosset street.

For some time prior to 1850, Dr. Joshua B. Chapin and George Thurber, as Chapin & Thurber; had a store at what was then 151 Westminster street. At this time they moved to 31 Westminster street. After relinquishing the business Dr. Chapin was appointed School Commissioner for the state. He died in 1881. Mr. Thurber moved to New York, and for many years has been chief editor of the *Agriculturist*. Messers Chapin & Thurber were succeeded in their first place of business by Albert L. Calder, who still carries on the business near the old stand.

This brings the history of the drug business down to the present generation. To pursue the subject further would be a needless task, as all are more or less familiar with what has occurred in the last thirty years. With the large growth of the city in this time there has been of course a large addi-

tion to the number of druggists. In 1833, a year after the city was incorporated, the following were the dealers in drugs, to wit:

Joseph Balch, South Main street; Isaac B. Cooke, Market street; Charles Dyer, Jr., Weybosset street; G. & C. Hoppin, South Water street; Duty Greene, High street; Oliver Johnson, & Co., Weybosset street; Manton & Hallet, South Water street; John H. Mason & Co., Broad street; John H. Taylor, North Main street; George H. Tillinghast, South Main street; John A. Wadsworth, North Main street; J. Remington, North Main street.

The following is the list of druggists in 1843.

A. F. Adie, Market street; Joseph Balch, South Main street; Charles Dyer, Jr., Westminster street; Duty Greene, High street; Grosvenor & Chace, Weybosset street; Oliver Johnson, Market street; Manton & Hallet, South Water street; John H. Taylor, North Main street; Earl P. Mason, Broad street; John A. Wadsworth, North Main street; George H. Tillinghast, South Main street; Cornelius Miller, High street; Edward T. Clarke, North Main street; George Bailey, South Main street; Joseph Remington, North Main street;

Ten years later the following were in the business.

A. F. Adie; Joseph Balch, & Son; H. H. Burrington, North Main street; William B. Blanding, North Main street; A. L. Calder, Westminster street; Thomas W. Eddy, High street; Augustus H. Field, Westminster street; Duty Greene; Oliver Johnson, & Son, Exchange street; Manton & Hallet; Earl P. Mason, & Co., Canal street; Joshua B. Chapin, Westminster street; Cornelius Miller; Benjamin D. Bailey, Wickenden street; Edward S. Thurber, North Main street; and Westcott Handy, who had a botanic medicine store on Westminster and Dorrance street.

In 1863, A. F. Adie, had been succeeded by Chambers & Calder; Manton & Hallet, by R. & W. Manton; Augustus H. Field, by Andrew J. Smith. (Mr. Field, however had taken a store further up Westminster street.) J. B. Chapin, C. Miller; B. D. Bailey, and E. S. Thurber, had retired from the business. The following were also in the business: to wit: C. E. Boone, & Co., Exchange Place; Joseph R. Buggess, Eddy street; Charles B. Burrington, 147, High street; James H. Chace, North Main street; George W. Davis, Westminster street; David Holmes, and Lewis Holmes, North Main street; John Howland, Wickenden street; Charles A. P. Mason, Broad street; James A. Packard, Chestnut street; G. A. & E. H. Peckham, Broad street; William G. Robinson, High street; Pardon Sheldon, High street, Byron Smith, North Main street; Esek P. Sumner, High street; Ossian Sumner, Broad street; John Tripp, Eddy street; and Walter B. Snow, Exchange Place. Nathaniel Wheaton, also was a drug broker, and William E. Hamlin, a dealer in Homeopathic medicines.


In 1883, there were seventy drug and medicine stores in the city, an increase of Fifty six in Fifty years.

In closing this history of the drug business in Providence, it is proper to say that the writer has availed himself not only of his own recollections but of such other sources of information as were thought to be reliable.

Though it has been the aim of the writer to be accurate and reliable, it is not improbable that names have been omitted and errors will be discovered; yet it is confidently believed that the history of the drug business here given is reasonably full and substantially correct. *

* *A paper read before the Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association November, 3, 1884.*

EDITORIAL.

HE Register once more appears before its readers. Of the circumstances that has caused the temporary suspension, we prefer not to speak off further than to remark, that the Editor has made every effort in his power to remove it and has in a great measure succeeded in so doing. It now rests with our patrons to help us entirely out of our difficulty. As they can fully see, the Register never has had anything but a very limited circulation, and not having an advertising patronage, it must depend entirely therefore upon the liberality of its patrons for existance.

Many of our subscribers treat the Register as though it had unlimited means and so withhold payment until after the entire volume is bound and delivered; while others have generously sent in the price of subscription which has so far sustained the enterprise.

With this number we send out bills to our patrons who have not paid us, and will they now take the trouble to send us our dues at a time when we need it so much. Our paying subscribers by renewing at once with us and in this way providing us a fund to continue our publication will fully earn the deepest gratitude of our heart.

The publishing of the Register has been at a decided loss so far in its career and but for a few generous friends, who, rather than have it suspend altogether, have contributed at times means to relieve it. The pride of the Editor has been to have it self-sustaining, and to think that his friends would be numerous enough to enable the Register to stand on a firm independent base. Take our present subscription list

and this is impossible; and so the Editor has taken every means in his power to lighten the expense in the future, and to render it possible for the Register to live; yet our friends ought to be generous enough to help us to new patrons and to send us our dues as soon as they can conveniently do so.

The Editor has been obliged to omit the usual lists of Births, Marriages and Deaths as well as other valuable matter, owing to want of type of a character to hold it. He will commence to again publish it however, as soon as he has the means to do it.

The Editor would have this number treated with charity. He is aware that it contains several typographical errors, but he has no apologies to offer further than this. He has done his best, and not having previous experience in type setting will account for these short-comings in this number. In the future, however, he will try his best to improve the appearance of the Register.

The Editor would take this opportunity to return his thanks unto all his friends who have in any way aided him, and would be still more grateful to have these favors continue, and to have our friends use their influence to obtain new patronage for us.

The Editor does not wish the Register to be obliged again to suspend publication for want of support, and therefore he pledges himself to do his best to avoid it, and if our friends will now help us on their part with means and influence the thing need not again occur. Will they do it?

As to the future policy of the Register, we have only this to say; that so long as the Editor is permitted by fate to control its destiny the field will ever be a broad one and every time encourage a liberal construction. One thing never will be, and that is considering where the article came from


at the expense of merits. To encourage a love for historical study, and to aid in every way possible such an interest will still be our constant study. It will urge the great importance of collecting and collating our unpublished history, and will suggest means to preserve these facts. The Register intends to strike and unsparingly all those enterprises that are now so cold and indifferent to our history and are substituting other things in its place. It will be merciless on the historical frauds. At present it is indeed criminal to longer pursue a silent policy. A few strong and well delivered blows as well as a few vigorous kicks must be now administered to these poor apologies of men. There is business here which must be at once attended to. Not in the spirit of a personal controversy, however, but like a philanthropist in the cause of justice.

On the other hand we shall encourage in every way possible every HONEST endeavor to in any way preserve our states history. It matters not how humble in life may be the writer. Is he honest, has he stated a fact is all the Register has any desire to know.

In short we propose to have and to write a peoples history of the state. There will be no war against well written and scholarly articles, but shall take special pains to obtain them. The articles that we shall ourself prepare, we shall strive with the aid of such means as nature has given us to make our subjects readable. We are fully persuaded if one has the brain to gather a series of facts, that he has ability to chain those facts together in such a way and manner as to make them readable. The Register proposes to do its best every time, and the rest can take care of itself. Our course is onward, and how many of our friends that go forward will now remain to be seen.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Our Exchanges. — The Register desires to thank our exchange patrons for their kindness toward us in continuing the exchange with us during the year just closed. Our trust is now however, that we shall now be able to continue the publication regular as usual.

 *Note.* — The last number of the Register was dated January, 1887; and was number Three of the Fifth Volume. The succeeding issues for April, July, and October, have not been printed. This issue bears date December, 1887, and takes the place of the above, carries the Index, and closes the Volume. Number One of the new Volume will bear date January, 1888, and will be printed as fast as we can get it ready. The Volume hereafter commences with the year.

Our New Dress. — The new dress in which the Register now appears is from the foundry of Phelps, Dalton, & Co., of Boston. It is styled in the trade as "Riverside Pica No. 13." Those of our friends who have been so fortunate as to have seen our proof sheets, and have expressed an opinion, speak in very complimentary terms in its favor. Our readers and patrons will no doubt be as equally well pleased with it.

An Interesting Paper. — In our next number, will be published a deeply interesting paper on Narragansett history and will show the secret of the contention for the possession of the territory by the New England Colonies. The subject will be presented in a new and different light. It will make plain several features of this great historical problem.

Rhode Island Families. — Mr. John O. Austin has just published on the broad sheet plan the historical and genealogical matter published in his *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island Families*. The price of the said sheets are 25, 50, and 75 cents each. These sheets give invaluable information and for a very little money. These sheets are well worth a liberal patronage.

American Genealogical Queries. — Mr. R. H. Tilley, of Newport; has sent us a fine copy of the above pamphlet. This is indeed a happy thought of Mr. Tilley's, and we trust the next edition will be as its editor wishes much larger, in this way giving proof that the public are encouraging a very worthy enterprise.

The Rodman Genealogy. — Dr. William W. Rodman, of New Haven; has sent us a copy of his recently published work. The Doctor has made a very readable book. He closes it by eulogizing the beauties of genealogical study. That the Doctor is in love with his subject; that he fully realizes the many perplexities and trials that are continually about the path of the investigator, his remarks abundantly prove. The Doctor has made some very timely remarks and we consider his points well taken, and commend his words to our b other historians.

Serg. John White Paul. — Mr. E. J. Paul, of Milwaukee, Wis.; has been good enough to mail us a pamphlet showing the part taken by the Sergeant in the capture of General Richard Prescott, on Rhode Island in the year 1777. It is a very interesting narrative and worthy a careful study by the Rhode Island scholar.

Two Corrections. — Miss. Fannie E. Card, writes that Martha Card of Enock, (see page 184 of the present issue.) should read Matthew C. of Enock and Mary. Matthew C. married Martha Waite of Hamilton, N. Y. It is a matter of regret with the Editor that his correction of this error in the last Register did not improve it. The Register stands always ready to correct every error found in its pages; and considers it a great favor to have them pointed out.

It was noted in the Perry article, in our last Number that Penelope Perry marries Elizabeth Kenyon. (see page 280.) It should have read Elijah Kenyon.

From the Providence Sunday Journal, Jan. 28, 1887. Occasion has frequently been taken in these colums to praise the useful work being done unostentatiously by the Narragansett Historical Register, and to point out the great interest of its pages. The present Number, (Jan. 1887,) is one that fully illustrates the justness of these tributes. It can be read with enjoyment and studied with profit, and might well be read by every intelligent resident of this city; for much of its contents is devoted to phases of early life in Providence.

Closing Note. — If we can flatter ourselves, we think considering the many difficulties under which we have labored and the perplexities connected therewith; and the fact that type-setting was a new vocation with us, that we have done fairly well. If we now could only impress upon our patrons and friends, that they ought to take hold with us and help the Register in its work we should feel proud of having accomplished something. Dear Reader, will you do it?

PROSPECTUS.

The Volume of the Register for 1888, will be in every way worthy of those that have preceeded it.

The common practice with publishers in issuing papers of this nature has been, to make glowing promises which, however, how well kept the volume following testifies for or against, them too strongly for any one to gain-say. A complaint against the Register has been, that its annual greeting has never been painted with such colors as rightfully belong to it. It is the fulfillment however, and the work itself that must finally be judged. The Register has always promised to do its VERY BEST with such means as we have at our disposal. This promise has been most rigidly adhered to so far in the career of the Register; The work it has already performed is ample proof of this assertion.

The Register has in hand several papers of merit which it proposes to publish as fast as room can be made for them.

The Register has partly perfected and hopes soon to complete arrangements by which the expenses of publishing will be very much reduced, in this way furnishing relief at a vital point. Everything that can possibly be done in this direction by the Editor will be most certainly taken advantage of. It would seem therefore, that a Magazine like unto the character of the Register and at the present time the only printed in the state; it would certainly seem such a work ought to live and deserves a share of the public patronage. That it is doing a much needed work has been already conceded. That it has made a brave fight against overwhelming odds, must be acknowledged. None can accuse the Register of want of energy. Why the Register has never been better supported is one of those questions that is far easier asked than answered. The most deserving are those that have to wait the longest for their reward, (very rare it ever comes.) and so far, (in our opinion,) this has been true of the Register.

